HISTORY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

JOHN BLACKET



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South Australian Native with Shield and Spear.

HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AUSTRALIA:

A ROMANTIC AND SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT IN COLONIZATION.

SECOND EDITION—REVISED, ENLARGED, AND CONTINUED TO A LATER PERIOD.

BY THE

REV. JOHN BLACKET.

Author of "A South Australian Romance," "Social Diseases and Suggested Remedies" (being a Criticism of some Socialistic Theories), "Reminiscences of a City Suburb and an Old Saint," "Not left Without Witness: or Divine Truth in the Light of Reason and Revelation."

FOREWORD BY

THE RIGHT HON. SIR SAMUEL J. WAY, BART.

"As a child South Australia attracted more than ordinary notice"
—Sir James Hurtle Fisher.

"A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation." Isaiah.

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TO MY WIFE

AND

TO THE MEMORY

OF

CALEB AND PHŒBE FIDLER,

PIONEERS IN THE

MOUNT GAMBIER DISTRICT.

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FOREWORD.

It is not surprising that a second edition has been called for of the "Early History of South Australia." The theme is fascinating to everyone living in this State, and it is dealt with by Mr. Blacket in an instructive and entertaining manner.

Our history begins with the great name of Matthew Flinders, second only in distinction to that of Captain Cook in the records of British maritime discovery. Flinders and the young surgeon Bass were the first to sail round Tasmania and to prove that it is separated from the Continent by Bass' Strait. Flinders first circumnavigated Australia also, and he surveyed the whole of the South and East coasts and the North coast as far as Cape Arnhem, his survey in many cases being a rediscovery of what had previously been imperfectly laid down on the charts. But his great achievement was the discovery in 1802 of the whole coastline of South Australia from Fowler's Bay to Encounter Bay, including of course St. Vincent's and Spencer's Gulfs and Kangaroo Island. This was not merely a discovery of 1,500 miles of coast. It was an event of eminent geographical and national importance—disproving the then accepted theory of a channel extending across from the Gulf of Carpentaria to the Southern Ocean, and demonstrating that Australia is a continent. By his promptitude he preceded the Frenchman, Captain Baudin, in the "Géographe," which had reached Australia before Flinders, in the "Investigator," sailed from England. Flinders thus prevented the name of "Terre Napoléon" being given to what is now South Australia, or any pretence of its belonging by right of discovery to a foreign power. It was on Flinders' suggestion also that the inappropriate designation "New Holland" was discarded and the felicitous name "Australia" adopted for the Southern Continent. Unfortunately it is

now too late to change the incongruous name of "South Australia" to "Flindersland."

The discovery of South Australia from the landward side was made in 1830 by Captain Sturt, as illustrious amongst explorers by land as Flinders is amongst navigators. This discovery, like Flinders', was a great geographical event, for Sturt's adventurous boat voyage down the Murrumbidgee and the Murray disclosed to the world the great river system of the continent.

Nearly thirty-five years had passed since Flinders discovered Kangaroo Island and the two Gulfs, and nearly seven years from the completion of Sturt's voyage down the Murray, when South Australia was proclaimed a British colony by Sir John Hindmarsh at Glenelg in the presence of more than 200 of the first settlers who had come across the world to make homes for themselves and their families in this then unexplored country. Flinders did not land on either side of the Gulf of St. Vincent, and his cautious description was that "the country round it had appeared to be generally superior to that on the borders of Spencer's Gulph." Sturt, on the other hand, formed a highly favourable opinion of the country from what he saw at Encounter Bay and in his voyage back along the shore of Lake Alexandrina. His optimist impressions were amply confirmed by the observations of Captain Barker, who in the following year was, at Captain Sturt's suggestion, instructed to inspect the eastern side of St. Vincent's Gulf. He landed at or near where Glenelg now stands, and also near Cape Jervis, and had carefully examined the adjacent country, when, having reached the mouth of the Murray, he was unfortunately killed by the natives. After the account furnished by the survivors of the party Captain Sturt reported: "It would appear that a spot has at length been found upon the south coast of New Holland to which the colonist might venture with every prospect of success, and in whose valleys the exile might hope to build for himself and his family a peaceful and prosperous home. All who have ever landed upon the eastern shore of St. Vincent's Gulf agree

as to the richness of its soil and the abundance of its pastures." Nevertheless we can hardly wonder at the cautious statement in the preamble to the Act of Parliament by which the new Province was authorized to be erected, that the territory "consists of waste and unoccupied lands which are 'supposed' to be fit for the purposes of colonization."

The early settlers, who were as adventurous, courageous, and God-fearing a body of men as ever left the Mother Country, were undismayed by the difficulties they had to encounter. They were animated by the same love of civil and religious liberty as their prototypes the Pilgrim Fathers of America, and they were glad to escape the congested labour market and depression of trade in the Mother Country to found a new and brighter Britain in the South.

One great attraction to the new settlers was the opportunity of obtaining freehold land for homes and farms of their own. Under the Wakefield system, which was adopted in the Act establishing the Province, the errors of previous attempts at colonization were to be avoided. Close settlement was to be secured by surveying land for sale in blocks of moderate size and as actually required. The land was to be alienated by sale only, and not by free grants, and the whole proceeds (altered to half proceeds six years later) were to be expended in immigration.

Another thing upon which the founders of the colony were insistent was that the New Settlement should not be contaminated by the admittedly lucrative convict system. Accordingly the 10th section of the Act provided that "no person or persons convicted in any Court of Justice shall at any time or under any circumstances be transported as a convict to any place within the limits hereinbefore prescribed." So much importance was attached to this provision that it was re-enacted in 1842 in the "Act to Provide for the Better Government of South Australia."

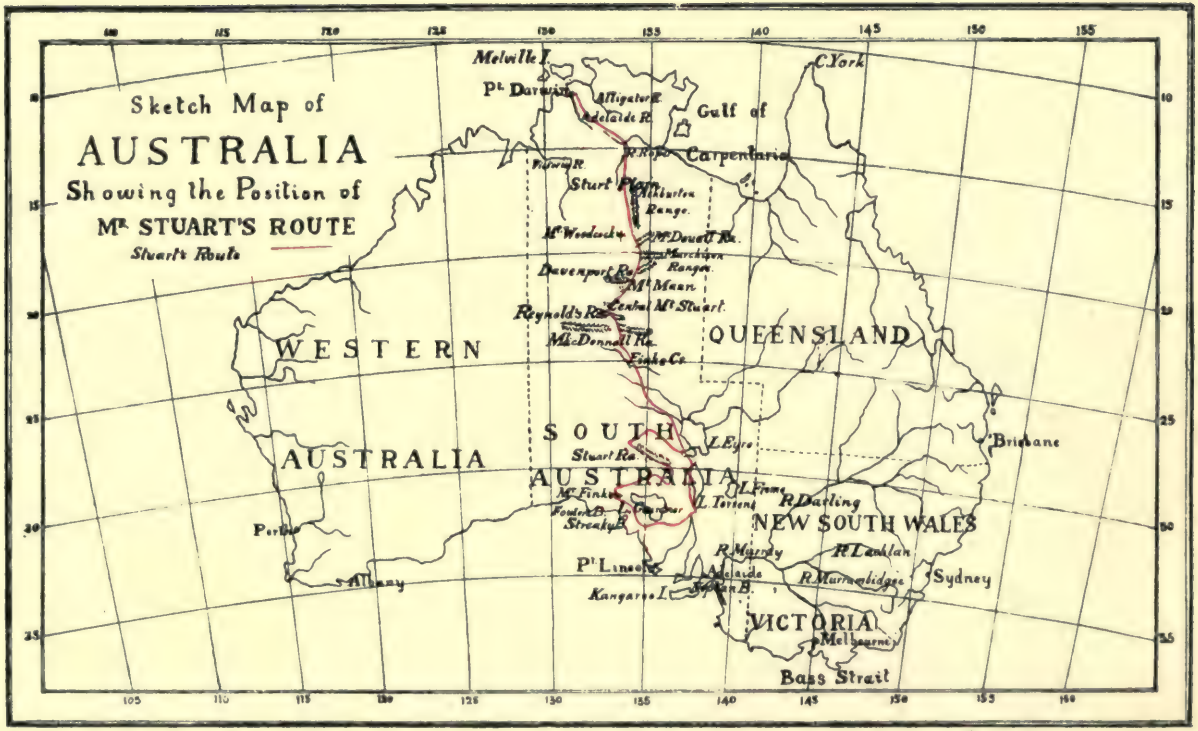
The varied fortunes of the infant colony from its foundation to the year 1862 are well told by Mr. Blacket.

Not satisfied with merely accepting the labours of others, Mr. Blacket has addressed himself to the task of original research. Published and unpublished despatches, records at Government House and at the British Museum, English and Australian newspapers of the time, diaries, letters, books of travel, as well as formal histories, have all been ransacked and laid under tribute. Consequently many passages of the book have the character of a contemporary narrative, in reading which we can almost imagine ourselves listening to the pioneers themselves telling us of their adventures, their difficulties, their failures, and their successes. A special feature of this edition is the account it gives of private explorations, by means of which the face of the country became known and its fitness for occupation was demonstrated.

Mr. Blacket tells his story in an animated manner. He is obviously a warm admirer of the characters and the doings of the early settlers. These qualities make his book specially fitted for the young, and to inspire them with a love of their country and with a desire to emulate the robust and manly virtues of the pioneers and founders of the State.

The book should find a place in every school library, not as a class or lesson book, but as a book to which boys and girls may turn, with as much pleasure as to other story-books, for life and colour and incident, to fill in the bare outlines given in briefer school histories.

S. J. WAY.


Sketch Map of
AUSTRALIA
Showing the Position of
Mr. STUART'S ROUTE
Stuart's Route
Melville I.
Pt. Darwin
Alligator R.
Adelaide R.
Gulf of
Carpentaria
C. York
R. Roper
Newcastle Range
Mt. Woodroffe
Mt. Deverell Ra.
Davenport Ra.
Mt. Mann
Reynolds Ra.
Central Mt. Stuart
MacDonnell Ra.
Finke Cr.
WESTERN
AUSTRALIA
SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
QUEENSLAND
L. Eyre
Stuart Ra.
Mt. Finke
Fowlers B.
Streaky B.
L. Frome
L. Torrens
R. Darling
NEW SOUTH WALES
Brisbane
Perth
Albany
Pt. Lincoln
Kangaroo I.
Adelaide
Spencer B.
R. Murray
R. Lachlan
R. Murrumbidgee
Sydney
VICTORIA
Melbourne
Bass Strait

INTRODUCTION.

The history of South Australia, with which this book deals, is a most romantic one. It is a record of national experiences of which we may well be proud. It reveals the grit, the energy, the perseverance, and the determination which are such potent factors in the mental and moral make-up of the British race. In the course of this book we shall make the acquaintance of men and women who could "replenish the earth and subdue it"; who could "break in pieces the gates of brass and cut in sunder the bars of iron." Defeat they never knew. Their motto was, "Conquer or die." No matter how dark the night—and sometimes the darkness was dense—they could always see a ray of light; no matter how rough the road, they never fainted by the way. Often surrounded by adverse circumstances (as in the course of our pages we shall see) and confronted by great difficulties, yet they made "the wilderness and the solitary place glad" and "the desert blossom as the rose."

Our fathers laboured, and we have entered into their labours. It is because they laid, broad and deep, the foundations of our State that we enjoy so many national advantages to-day. If it were not for the knowledge of this fact it would, indeed, be matter for surprise that South Australia had made such marvellous progress in so short a time. Our State is only seventy-four years of age, yet all the material and spiritual advantages of civilization are ours. The community has made rapid strides and is eminently prosperous. Providence has given to us a "goodly heritage." Our fathers recognized the fact. They had faith in God, faith in themselves, and in the material resources placed at their disposal. In their national undertakings (as we shall see) there was the public recognition of a Power in the universe that makes for righteousness. We to-day reap the benefit of their faith, hope, and labour. A popular review of their experiences may act as an inspiration to coming generations.

Much that this book contains has never been given to the public in popular and permanent form. In London as well as in South Australia it has been my good fortune to collect a mass of material relative to the history of our State, some of which ought to be handed down to the generations yet to come. As time goes on the sketches of the pioneer

builders, to which a chapter will be specially devoted, will become increasingly valuable.

My thanks are specially due to the London *Times* Office, to the South Australian *Register*, and to pioneers who preserved records of their early experiences. I am also grateful to His Excellency the Governor, Admiral Sir Day Hort Bosanquet, K.C.B., for permission to examine the "Early Despatches" at Government House. L. H. Sholl, Esq., I.S.O., and Thomas Gill, Esq., I.S.O., have rendered useful service, the former by supplying statistics and the latter by examining my proofs. I wish also to acknowledge the unfailing kindness and courtesy of the Right Hon. Sir Samuel Way, Bart., in writing a "Foreword" for this history.

The men who founded our Institute and Public Library have for all time rendered special service to our State. Had it not been for the preservation of English and colonial papers treasured up in our national archives the following pages could not have been so fully written. In small and in large tomes were the buried letters, diaries, and speeches written and spoken by our pioneer nation-builders. Bringing these to the surface and adding bone to bone and limb to limb was indeed a labour, but not at all irksome, inasmuch as it was a "labour of love." To roll back, as it were, the course of time: to live in the almost forgotten past; to see what the pilgrim fathers were thinking about, saying, and doing long before the present generation arrived upon the scene was felt to be not only a duty but a joy. A bare record of historical facts could easily have been collated. But a history of that kind, though perhaps instructive, could not possibly be entertaining. My aim has been to make the past history of our State realistic. An ancient seer had a vision. He saw a valley of bones. They were "very dry." The view was not at all entertaining. The marrowless bones were but the bare relics of a once-stirring and vigorous national existence. But great possibilities were bound up in them. They were awaiting a resurrection. A Divine inspiration swept over the valley. There was a noise—a shaking among the bones. Bone came to bone; sinews were created; flesh grew. The mechanism was complete. But something more than this was needed: it was the "breath of life." When this came upon the dead and prostrate forms "they lived" and "stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army." Which things are an allegory. To merely collate and put on record the bare facts of the history of a State is not sufficient. To entertain as well as to impress and instruct the "breath of life" is essential. The dead past must

be made to live before us. Hence, in the following pages attempts have been made to picture the surroundings of the pioneers, to sit down at their banquets, to listen to their Parliamentary debates, to go with them on their explorations, and to see them adding brick to brick and stone to stone till a worthy and substantial Commonwealth was built up. This is the first attempt to give the history of South Australia on popular lines. While written in a popular way care has been taken to make the record correct. The hope is expressed that parents and others may find the book useful as a gift to place in the hands of young people with the conviction that it will not only be received but read.

The first edition of this book, published nearly two years ago, was well received and soon exhausted. The measure of success that attended that effort has made possible the present edition, revised, enlarged, and continued to a later period. Several new chapters have been added.

The first edition was purely local, no copies being put on the market in any other State. This is intended to appeal to a larger public. Other Australian States and the Old Land, from which our fathers came, have an interest in these pages. In an address spoken when South Australia reached her majority the late Sir Henry Ayers, one of our worthy pioneers, said: "Fellow-colonists—If this is a proud day to us (as most assuredly it ought to be) how much more should our brethren in the dear old Mother Country exult in the pride of our situation. How they should rejoice at being witnesses of what no other nation of the world beside England has been permitted to see. What other nation has seen her children so extensively spread over the most distant parts of the earth, founding communities, governing themselves, speaking the same language, improving on the models of her institutions, reverencing the land of their forefathers, and sympathizing with that race of which we ourselves are a continuing part?" These words are as true as they are patriotic.

Our kindred in the Old Land should know something of our history, for we are British to the core and intensely loyal. There is in the British race the world over a mysterious force of affinity. How very potent that force is in recent years we have been able to tell. Since the Battle of Waterloo the Empire has rapidly grown. New colonies have been developed and to the ends of the earth the British have gone. We might reasonably have assumed that in proportion as our people receded from the centre of national gravity the national sentiment would become weak: that

in forming new communities and new associations British people would lose much of their interest in the Old Land. But the Transvaal war—unfortunate as war must ever be—was indeed a revelation. Upon British people in these Australian States the reverses which overtook our arms at the beginning of that war had an indescribable effect. Of the people whose history is here recorded I can speak from personal experience. In this far-off Southern Land there were those who could not sleep by night and whose minds were troubled and perplexed by day. There was a vague kind of feeling that the Mother Country was in danger, and that in some way or other we ought to go to the rescue. Men and women who had never seen England volunteered for service as soldiers and nurses, and money in aid of the sick and the wounded literally flowed in. To the Motherland it might be said: "Lift up thine eyes round about and see: they all gather themselves together: they come to thee. Thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be carried in their arms. . . . The multitude of the sea shall be turned unto thee: the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee" (Isaiah lx. 4). Australian lads made wooden weapons: they had shamfights; the national colours were pinned upon the breast; from stores and from houses the old flag waved in the breeze; girls and boys of tender years as well as those older marched about singing "Rule Britannia," "Soldiers of the Queen," and other patriotic songs. It was an experience never to be forgotten. When news of the relief of our pent-up forces was flashed across the ocean the whole Australian Continent from centre to circumference was deeply stirred.

Another revelation of the depth, intensity, and permanence of the national sentiment was made in connection with the death of our late wise and able King, Edward VII.

Events such as those just recorded are unfailing and unerring registers of inborn national traits. Though far removed from the heart of the Empire and transplanted in various parts of the earth Britons the world over are one. It is well for us as a nation, especially in pessimistic times, to be reminded of the fact.

Yes: in Australia we are, and shall be, a people intensely loyal, and of the history of one of the largest of the Australian States our kindred in the Old Land ought to know something. If the children have not forgotten the old Mother, the Mother cannot have forgotten the children.

It may help the reader in the Old Land if I give a short sketch of Australia as a whole. In the early part of

the seventeenth century (though a *terra incognita)* its existence was known to some Continental nations. Spanish and Dutch came very close to it. It was termed by the Dutch New Holland. The first Englishman to visit it was the buccaneer William Dampier; this was in the year 1688. He anchored on the coast of Western Australia. But it was Captain Cook who virtually secured the Continent for England. This was in 1770. Sailing along the eastern coast of Australia he took possession of that part of it since known as New South Wales. Here in 1786 the British Government decided to establish a penal settlement. On May 13th, 1787, Captain Phillip was sent out in charge of a number of convicts. Some eight months later he reached his destination: he and his officers assembled round a flag-pole; the health of the King was drunk; and the New South Wales settlement was founded. The capital of New South Wales (Sydney) is so named after Lord Sydney, the English statesman who sent out the first colonists.

There are six colonies or States in the Australian Commonwealth to-day, *viz.*:—

1. New South Wales, with which we have just dealt.

2. Tasmania (originally known as Van Diemen's Land). This is an island discovered by a Dutchman named Tasman in 1642. In 1803 it was taken possession of by the British and a convict settlement was formed. It was then connected with New South Wales, but in 1825 it was made a separate colony. The capital of Tasmania is Hobart.

3. Victoria. This originally formed part of New South Wales. It was made a separate colony in 1851, and was named Victoria after our late beloved Queen. The capital of Victoria (Melbourne) is so called after an English statesman, Lord Melbourne.

4. Queensland. This also was a part of New South Wales, and became a separate colony in 1859. The capital of Queensland (Brisbane) is so named after Sir Thomas Brisbane, at one time Governor of New South Wales.

5. Western Australia. The largest of all the colonies. In 1826 the Governor of New South Wales sent an expedition to Western Australia to preserve it from French aggression. The first real settlement took place in 1829. The capital of Western Australia is Perth.

6. South Australia. It is of this Province that I have to speak. It has the most romantic history of all, and has this further advantage: it was never a convict settlement. The southern coast of Australia was not explored by Cap-

tain Cook. We have to deal with its discovery, its settlement, and development.

And now, before we witness the process of nation-building, a word of warning—

"Lest we forget."

As an Australian Commonwealth we are part of a vast empire the greatest and grandest that the world has seen. Let us remember the truth taught by history as well as by the Hebrew sage that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." Let the British people here and everywhere guard against two evils: practical materialism and lax morality. Let not "the god of this world" blind the eye or sensuality enslave and emasculate the soul. So long as the heart of the British race in the Australian Commonwealth and elsewhere beats true to God we have nothing to fear. No weapon that is formed against the British nation shall prosper. Its armies will be invincible and its navies will rule the seas. But if, as a nation, we ignore the Power in the universe that makes for righteousness and lose our moral tone, the British Empire will fall. It will go down as other great civilizations have gone down, and Egypt, Babylon, Greece, and Rome shall say: "Art thou become weak as we are? Art thou become like unto us?"

JOHN BLACKET.

Brompton, South Australia.

THE PIONEERS.

[Composed by H. S. Scarfe and sung by the colonists in 1857, when South Australia reached its majority.]

Fill, fill each sparkling glass, boys,
And drain your bumpers dry,
And listen while I sing, boys,
Of days and deeds gone by,
And while we call to mind the past—its hopes, its doubts, its fears,
Let's ne'er forget the honour due to brave old pioneers.

They left their much-loved England
And braved the ocean's foam,
Here, for themselves and children,
To found a freeman's home.
Now near the same old tree we meet, o'er which, with joyous cheers,
The British flag was first unfurled by loyal pioneers.

That little band of heroes,
How manfully they plied
The axe, the plough, the harrow,
And labour'd side by side.
For us they cleared, they ploughed, they sowed; a garden now appears
Where first they found a wilderness—those hardy pioneers.

Like wave on wave advancing
Crowds followed them ere long;
The once small band now musters
Some hundred thousand strong;
Who've carried on through weal and woe, for one-and-twenty years
The work so nobly then begun by gallant pioneers.

Beneath this gay pavilion
We sip our wine at ease;
Theirs was the rude tarpaulin
Or shelter of the trees.
Think, while we gratefully enjoy each gift our heart that cheers,
We owe all, under Providence, to brave old pioneers.

FIRST GLIMPSES
OF THE GREAT LONE LAND.



Captain Matthew Flinders, R.N.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST GLIMPSES OF THE GREAT LONE LAND.

Not first glimpses of the Australian Continent as a whole, but of that portion of it with which this history deals. It is said that the first-known discovery of any part of South Australia was made in 1627. The discoverer was a Dutch navigator who sailed along the south coast. The new land was called Nuyts' Land.

Lieutenant James Grant.

Of Lieutenant Grant's association with our Province we can speak with greater confidence. On March 17th, 1800, the *Lady Nelson*, a vessel of 60 tons burden, left Old England for New Holland. She was to proceed on a voyage of discovery as far as the infant settlement of New South Wales, so named by Captain Cook in 1770. Among other things that Lieutenant Grant had to do was to search for the strait that separated Van Diemen's Land (now called Tasmania) from Australia.

The *Lady Nelson* had fifteen men on board and was provisioned for nine months. A voyage to New Holland (or Australia, as it is now called) in 1800 was a momentous undertaking. The captain had great difficulty in keeping his men together, the general conviction being that the vessel was not adapted for so long, difficult, and dangerous a voyage. The vessel was sarcastically named by the sailors "His Majesty's Tinder Box."

After ninety-nine days at sea the *Lady Nelson* dropped anchor in Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope. Here Lieutenant Grant waited a long time for a convenient season in which to set out for *Terra Australis*.

On October 7th, in the presence of several spectators who scarcely thought that the little vessel would reach her destination, Lieutenant Grant weighed anchor and proceeded on his voyage.

On December 2nd, 1800, he thought that land must be near. It was a mere trifle that suggested the thought to his mind, the vessel being visited by one of the large dragon flies, usually and mistakenly called (at least in Australia)

horse-stingers. At 8 o'clock on the next morning land was sighted, and to Lieutenant Grant belongs the distinguished honour of being the first white man to obtain a glimpse of the south-eastern coast of *Terra Australis*. He saw two capes and away in the distance two mountains. One of the latter he named Mount Schank, in memory of his old friend Captain John Schank, of the Royal Navy; the other mountain he called Gambier's Mountain, after Admiral Lord Gambier. One cape he called Northumberland, after the Duke of Northumberland, and the other Cape Banks, we believe in honour of Sir Joseph Banks, the naturalist who accompanied Captain Cook on his first voyage to New Holland.

Grant was unconscious of the value of his discovery. Mount Gambier was destined to be one of the most striking features in a new and prosperous English settlement. Here in course of time one of the finest towns in a new community would be built, and a wilderness over which kangaroo and blackfellow roamed would be converted into a Garden of Eden.

After making several discoveries farther round the coast the *Lady Nelson* on December 16th, 1800, reached her destination, Port Jackson, New South Wales. In his Journal of the voyage Lieutenant Grant says:—"At half-past seven in the evening we let go our anchors in 8 fathoms of water after a voyage of seventy-one days from the Cape of Good Hope, and with the satisfaction of being the first vessel that ever pursued the same tract across that vast ocean. I felt thankful to God for the great success we had met with and the protection He had shown to us throughout the whole voyage."

It may be interesting to the reader to know that on December 3rd, 1900 (a century after Grant first sighted the land), the foundation-stone of a commemorative tower was laid upon Mount Gambier by the Right Hon. Sir Samuel Way, Bart., Chief Justice of South Australia.

Captain Matthew Flinders.

One of the most illustrious names in the history of our Empire—a name that makes us feel proud of the grand old stock from which we have sprung.

The descendants of the South Australian pioneers ought to remember January 25th, 1801. It marks a day in which all English people should be interested. On that date the young seaman Matthew Flinders, a born adventurer, took command of H.M.S. *Investigator*. The vessel was rightly

named. She was about to proceed on a voyage the record of which would affect the world for all time. The instructions which the captain received from the Admiralty were "to proceed to the coast of New Holland *(Terra Australis)* for the purpose of making a complete examination and survey of the said coast."

The vessel set sail from Spithead on July 18th, 1801, with about eighty-eight picked men on board.

On December 8th of the same year she reached King George's Sound, Western Australia. Here some time was spent in taking soundings and examining the nature of the country.

From King George's Sound the *Investigator* sailed eastward toward what was termed the "South Coast of Australia," a region of which the world knew nothing. Passing by what is known as the "Great Australian Bight," Flinders anchored in a bay now well known to South Australians. This he named Fowler's Bay, after his first lieutenant. Here they discovered traces of the natives, but did not come in contact with them. The *Investigator* was the first vessel to reach these shores. How long the blacks had lived upon them or whence they came it is impossible to tell. Of ships and of white men they had no conception. We can understand, as the *Investigator* tacked about these lonely and silent coasts, how awe-stricken the natives must have been. Was the vessel some vast sea-monster? Was it some supernatural visitant? Did it mean their destruction? Was some great calamity about to overtake their land? How excitedly these questions would be discussed in the "bush" and in their "wurlies." When (cautiously peeping through the brushwood) they saw a boat lowered and white men pulling for their shores their wonder and terror must have been intense. The first time the South Australian blacks saw bullocks they thought they were devils.

We do not think that the gallant captain was enamoured of Fowler's Bay. What the British sailor needed, specially a hundred years ago, was fresh food at the ports at which he called. For long periods he had to live on salt beef, and was without fruit or vegetables, the result being scurvy. At Fowler's Bay, at which no vessel had called since the foundations of the world were laid, Flinders hoped to replenish his larder, but was disappointed. It appeared to be a most inhospitable place. No fresh water and no food in any quantity could be obtained. All that Flinders and his party were able to shoot were about half a dozen birds.

They put out their lines, but found that the finny tribe was as shy or as scarce as the feathered one. In his Journal Flinders wrote that "a few birds and fish constituted everything like refreshment obtained here, and the botanists found the scantiness of plants equal to that of the other productions, so that there was no inducement to remain longer." What were half a dozen birds and a few small fish among nearly a hundred hearty British sailors?

A little farther on they fared better. This was at an island called by Nuyts St. Francis. Here they obtained sufficient birds to give each man in the ship four; a small kangaroo was also secured. But no fresh water could be found—not sufficient, as Flinders puts it, to "rinse the mouth." The gallant navigator learned by experience, as many have done since his day, that the great need of this part of Australia is water. As he groped his way along the unknown coast, mile after mile and day after day, he was hoping to find some great river pouring its contents into the ocean. In this respect he was disappointed.

On February 5th, 1802, Flinders discovered another bay now well known to South Australians—Streaky Bay—so called by him because the water was discoloured in streaks. Sailing on he came to what he named Smoky Bay. Perhaps the natives had gathered there to broil their fish and to roast their kangaroo. Flinders saw quantities of smoke rising from the shore, so he gave the bay the peculiar name that we suppose it will bear as long as white men live upon the planet.

Anxious Bay was discovered and so named from the anxious night that the navigator spent there. What is known as Flinders Island came into view. It was so called not after Captain Flinders, but in honour of his brother, the second lieutenant of the *Investigator*.

To Flinders and his party the voyage must have been a stirring one. They were exploring a new and strange world: they were looking over a land on which the eye of white man had never rested. Here, in spots which the natives had not reached, neither bird nor animal had been molested since the land had been lifted above the ocean. At Flinders Island the captain found families of seals, consisting in each instance of a male, four or five females, and a few young cubs. To these he could approach quite closely without in any way disturbing them.

Discovering and naming Investigator's Group after his ship, Flinders sailed past a large indentation in

the coast to which he gave the gruesome name of Coffin Bay. It was not the dead but the living that suggested to his mind such a gloomy title. It was so named after Sir Isaac Coffin, of the Admiralty, who had taken a special interest in fitting out the *Investigator*. As we shall see in a coming chapter, those who drew the plans for the settlement of South Australia thought this would be a great maritime depot.

Thistle Island was discovered and so called after the master of the *Investigator*, John Thistle. Flinders describes it as being about 12 miles long and from 1 to 2 or 3 miles in breadth. Here anchor was cast and the island explored. All that the captain found upon it was snakes, eagles, seals, and kangaroos. The water in the hold was getting low. Under Flinders' instructions John Thistle (after whom the island had just been named), in company with the midshipman (William Taylor) and six seamen, took the cutter and proceeded to the mainland in search of water. Time passed on. The shades of night were gathering. From the deck of the *Investigator* they could see the cutter in the distance returning. Darkness set in, but the cutter and its living freight came not. What could have happened? Flinders became anxious. The first lieutenant (Fowler) took the boat and a lantern, and rowed away in search of the missing men. All on board were in a state of suspense. After two hours Fowler returned with the sad intelligence that he could not find any traces of the cutter, nor of the men who had sailed in her. Lights were shown and muskets fired, but there was no response. At daybreak an examination was made. The cutter was discovered, bottom up, completely stove-in by being dashed upon the rocks. For several days the shore was searched, but without avail. Not one of the eight gallant men who had sailed away in the cutter with such high hopes would ever see again the *Investigator*, the commander, or his native land. No traces of the bodies could be found. Probably they had been eaten by the immense sharks with which this part of the sea is infested. Strange that at the island to which John Thistle's name had just been attached he should meet with death. The monument to his memory will endure when mausolea created by the hand of man will have crumbled into dust.

Flinders says:—"I caused an inscription to be engraven on a sheet of copper and set up on a stout post at the head of the cove, which I named Memory Cove."

Here we must pause for a moment. Flinders does not say how the inscription read. The destructive forces of Nature, incessantly at work, must have detached the sheet of copper from the post. Three fragments of it were found in 1866 (sixty-four years later), two of them on or near the beach of Port Lincoln Bay and, strange to say, the third in the cupboard of a house at Port Lincoln. These precious relics are now in the Public Library, Adelaide, South Australia. Only a few of the words that Flinders caused to be engraved are on these relics. From the words that can be deciphered it is supposed that the inscription must have read something like this:—

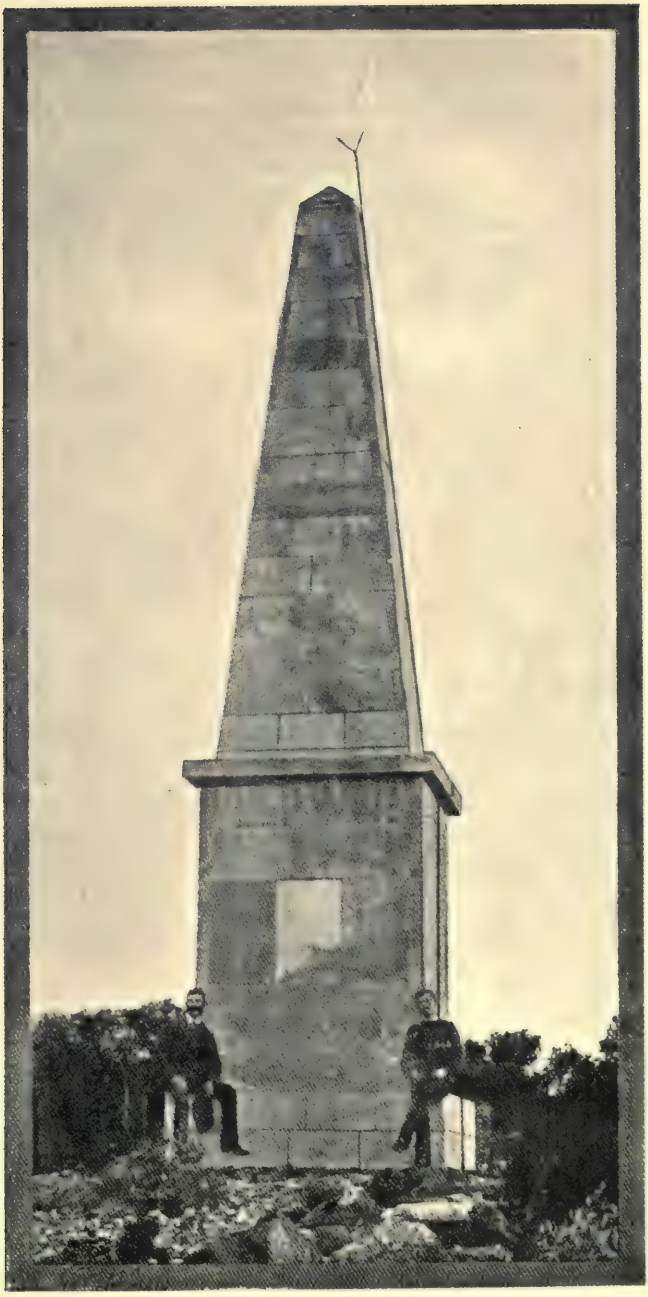
MEMORY COVE.

H.M.S. Investigator, Matthew Flinders, Com., anchored here Feb. 22, 1802. Mr. John Thistle, Master; William Taylor, Mid.: and six able seamen were unfortunately lost near this place from being upset in a sudden squall. The boat was found, but the bodies were not discovered.

This tragic circumstance threw a gloom over the *Investigator*. Flinders, who seems to have been much attached to his men, felt it keenly. To further commemorate the sad event he named a cape in the vicinity Cape Catastrophe. Both master and midshipman already had each an island named after them, so Flinders called the six islands nearest the cape by names of the lost seamen.

Having named a cluster of islands Sir Joseph Banks Group as a compliment to the President of the Royal Society, Flinders turned his attention to a large port capable of sheltering a fleet of ships. This he called Port Lincoln, after his native county. This was on February 26th, 1802.

With Flinders on board the *Investigator* was John Franklin, serving as a midshipman. Several years after he became Governor of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), and is known to posterity as Sir John Franklin, the great Arctic explorer. When Governor of Van Diemen's Land he caused an obelisk to be erected at Port Lincoln with an inscription in marble to the memory of his friend and illustrious commander, "Matthew Flinders, R.N., the discoverer of the country called South Australia." The original inscription (having fallen into disrepair) is now to be seen in the Public Library, Adelaide, the South Australian Government having caused another tablet to be erected.



FLINDERS' MONUMENT, STAMFORD HILL, NEAR PORT LINCOLN, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

At Port Lincoln Flinders was able to obtain some fresh water by digging. Here some time was spent in exploring the country and in taking soundings.

From Port Lincoln the captain made a final search along the coast and among the islands for the bodies of his men who had been wrecked in the cutter. It was ineffectual. In this part he saw many traces of the natives, their bark huts, and paths long and deeply trodden, but the natives themselves kept in the distance.

Flinders found that he was now in a gulf, which he named Spencer's Gulf, as a compliment to the President of the Admiralty Board. From the gulf he saw and named Mount Brown (we presume after the able botanist on board of that name) and Mount Arden. The whole range (at the foot of which some of these chapters were written) was named after the illustrious navigator, Flinders Range.

Flinders now began to give his attention to the other side of the gulf. Sailing south, he named Points Riley and Pierce, each in honour of a gentleman connected with the Admiralty. He saw and named Corney Point; also Hardwicke Bay, as a compliment to an English earl of that title. He next discovered and named Cape Spencer, after Earl Spencer, and then sailed into Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island; the bay was so called by Flinders after an English nobleman of that name. This was on March 21st, 1802. It was at this bay thirty-four years later that a small band of pioneers would land to lay the foundations of the Province of South Australia. But more of this in the pages to come. Flinders tells how, landing on the island next morning, a number of kangaroos were quietly feeding. They had never been disturbed by the advent of man and had no fear of Flinders and his party. Many of them allowed themselves to be knocked on the head with clubs.

The captain concluded that the country on which they had landed was an island; and the tameness of the kangaroos, the presence of the seals upon the shore, and the absence of all traces of man convinced him that the island was uninhabited. In his Journal on March 22nd, 1802, he wrote:—"The whole ship's company was employed this afternoon in skinning and cleaning the kangaroos, and a delightful regale they afforded after four months' privation from almost any fresh provision. Half a hundredweight of heads, forequarters, and tails were stewed down into soup for dinner on this and succeeding days, and as much steaks

given to officers and men as they could consume by day and by night. In gratitude for so seasonable a supply I named this southern land Kangaroo Island."

Between Kangaroo Island and the mainland Flinders found a strait to which he gave the name of Investigator Strait, after his vessel. He also found himself in another gulf, which he named St. Vincent's Gulf, after another member of the Admiralty. The peninsula which lay between Spencer's and St. Vincent's Gulfs he called Yorke's Peninsula, after the Right Hon. Charles Philip Yorke. He also named Cape Jervis and Troubridge Shoal. From Kangaroo Island he saw a high mountain in the distance, calling it Mount Lofty.

How astonished the intrepid commander would be if he could revisit the scene of his explorations! In the great lone land whose coasts for the first time he surveyed he would find beautiful flower gardens, large orchards and vineyards, vast wheatfields, macadamized roads, railway lines, picturesque villages, and well-built towns. At Port Lincoln, Kangaroo Island, and at Mount Lofty he would find monuments raised to his memory.

Having finished his examination of the gulf, Flinders went back to Kangaroo Island for a fresh supply of kangaroo meat, and shortly after again set sail from the island, passing through and naming Backstairs Passage.

In two days' time he had a remarkable experience. The man on the lookout reported "A white rock ahead." No doubt the presence of a ship in those strange waters was considered to be impossible, but such the supposed "white rock" proved to be. She was flying the French flag. Flinders had the deck cleared and prepared for action. Fortunately there was no need for bloodshed. The vessel proved to be the *Géographe*, commanded by Nicholas Baudin, bent upon the same errand as the *Investigator*. Flinders had only a few days' advantage of his French rival. Speaking to Flinders some time after at Sydney, the first lieutenant of the French vessel said, "Captain, if we had not been kept so long picking up shells and catching butterflies at Van Diemen's Land, you would not have discovered the south coast before us."

The meeting of the two vessels and the two commanders took place near a large bay, which Flinders termed Encounter Bay to commemorate the event. Here, in connection with the Flinders Centenary, an interesting ceremony took place.

This was on April 8th, 1902. A gunmetal plate bearing the following inscription was let into a granite rock:—

> In commemoration of the meeting near this Bluff between H.M.S. Investigator—Matthew Flinders—who explored the coast of South Australia, and M.F. Le Geographe—Nicholas Baudin.
>
> April 8, 1802.
>
> On board the Investigator was John Franklin, the Arctic discoverer. These English and French explorers held Friendly Conference. Hence Flinders named the place of meeting Encounter Bay.
>
> Unveiled by His Excellency Lord Tennyson
> April 8, 1902.

So far as South Australia was concerned the gallant captain's work when at Encounter Bay was done. We leave him to pursue his voyage to Port Jackson, New South Wales, while we relate perhaps still more romantic events.

Captain Charles Sturt.

Captain Flinders had seen only the southern coast of *Terra Australis*. No white man had penetrated its mysterious interior. This honour fell to Captain Sturt. In 1829 the Government of New South Wales (the pioneer settlement on the continent of Australia) commissioned him to trace the course of the river Murrumbidgee. A whaleboat was secured and the necessary provision made. At the head of a party Captain Sturt set sail. The trip must have been a most fascinating one. They were gliding down a stream on which no white man's boat had hitherto been launched; they were passing through country that no white man had previously seen. The journey had its difficulties and dangers. Here and there in the stream were "snags"—submerged logs—against which the boat might strike; there were rapids to be passed over, with the possibilities of being upset. These perils added romance to the trip.

After sailing some time down the Murrumbidgee suddenly the boat shot into a noble stream, flowing from east to west. This proved to be what is known as the Murray River. It was so named by Captain Sturt in honour of Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for the Colonies. This must indeed have been a surprise, and the excitement of the

party must have been intense. On the adventurers glided, not knowing whither they went, wondering no doubt what other revelations were in store. Borne on the bosom of the noble river, they sailed past giant gums. Away in the distance the kangaroo bounded. Occasionally they had a glimpse of the natives of the soil. At times these were very hostile; covered with war paint, poising their spears, and sounding their battle-cry, they rushed down to the water's edge. Sometimes Captain Sturt and his party were in specially dangerous circumstances and thought that some of the natives would have to be shot in self-defence; fortunately they were not compelled to resort to violence, and all were providentially preserved. After sailing about two months down the Murray they came to a vast fresh water lake. This was the reservoir into which the river flowed. It was covered with game. As the boat shot through the water flocks of swan rose before it. Captain Sturt says that the patter-patter of their rising was like the clapping of hands of a vast multitude. This body of water he called Lake Alexandrina, in honour of the princess who (later on) for so many years gloriously ruled over us as Queen Victoria. The explorers were now in one of the most romantic parts of South Australia. This was the happy hunting-ground of the black-fellow. On the banks of the Murray and round the shores of the lake he built his wurlies, held his corroborees, chanted to his piccaninnies, taught them how to swim, to throw the spear, and to track emus, kangaroos, and enemies. Here he caught his fish and noosed and netted wild fowl. No wonder that he was both awed and angry when he saw his territory invaded by mysterious whites. The Rev. George Taplin, who spent many years among the blacks in the early days, says:—"I knew several men who remembered the arrival of Captain Sturt, and they told me of the terror which was felt as they beheld his boat crossing Lake Alexandrina."

Passing over the lake, Captain Sturt discovered the junction of the Murray with the sea. When about to return he said:—"I could not but think that I was leaving behind me the fullest reward of our toil in a country that would ultimately render our discoveries valuable. Hurriedly I would repeat, as my view was, my eye never fell on a country of more promising aspect or more favourable position."

Captain Barker.

The discoverer of the fertile plains of Adelaide was Captain Barker, of the British Army. After Captain Sturt re-



Along the Murray, Moorundie.

turned to New South Wales he suggested to the Government of that colony that a further examination should be made of the south-eastern coast of South Australia. This was entrusted to Captain Collet Barker. In 1831 he began his survey of the coast from Cape Jervis, and sailed up toward what is now known as Glenelg. A party landed and travelled in the direction of Mount Lofty. The country through which they passed was delightful and the expedition a most inspiring one. They discovered and named the river Sturt, so called in honour of the gallant explorer of that name. Captain Barker climbed Mount Lofty and saw an arm of the sea to the north-west running inland.

In course of time what rapid and radical changes occur. In a few years that arm of the ocean, seen for the first time by Captain Barker, would lead to what is now known as Port Adelaide, and those beautiful plains on which his eye rested would be covered with flocks and herds and English homesteads.

The party proceeded to the mouth of the Murray. Being anxious to obtain some observations the other side of the stream, Captain Barker (with compass on his head) swam across, the distance being about 300 yards at low water. In a few minutes he swam the stream, and was about five minutes ascending the hillock,[1] computed to be about 60 ft. high. On reaching the top he looked round for a minute and then disappeared. This was the last glimpse the party had of him. The hours passed by, but Captain Barker did not return. Some of the party thought that they heard a noise, as of someone shouting in pain, coming from the direction the captain had taken. Later on they saw a large fire in the same direction, heard natives "cooeeing," and saw several moving to and fro. For five and twenty hours they waited, but the leader came not. The strange conduct of the natives who were to be seen in the distance, their frequent "cooeeings," and fires, convinced the party that Captain Barker was either slain or held in detention by the natives. They had no means of crossing the stream; the only man who could swim would not attempt the task alone without arms. The party returned to the vessel for assistance.

At this time there were some white sealers living upon Kangaroo Island, of whom in another chapter we shall have to speak. With them were a few natives. The exploring party, bereft of their leader, sought the assistance of these

[1] Afterwards called Barker's Knoll.

men. They wished to know the fate of their commander. Two of the white sealers, accompanied by some natives, went with the party to the mainland. The natives opened up communications with the blacks round the Murray mouth. They learned that Captain Barker had been speared to death and his body thrown into the sea. The circumstances under which he met his death were sad indeed. Captain Barker was unconscious of the approach of the natives until he received his first wound, a spear passing through his left hip. He ran into the surf up to his knees, making signs with his hands and calling to them to desist. A second and third spear was thrown, the latter passing through the body. Captain Barker then fell down, and the three natives brought him to shore and drew their spears backward and forward through his body till he died. Mount Barker is named after him, and a monument has been there erected to commemorate his life, work, and death.

It was the discoveries made on the coast by Captain Flinders and in the interior by Captains Sturt and Barker that lay at the basis of the schemes for South Australian colonization. Captain Sturt wrote:—"A spot has at length been found upon the south coast of New Holland to which the colonist might venture with every prospect of success, and in whose valleys the exile might hope to build for himself and for his family a peaceful and prosperous home. All those who have ever landed on the eastern shore of St. Vincent's Gulf agree as to the richness of its soil and the abundance of its pastures. Indeed, if we cast our eyes upon the chart and examine the natural features of the country behind Cape Jervis we shall no longer wonder at its differing in soil and fertility from the low and sandy tracts that generally prevail along the shores of Australia."

DRAWING THE PLANS.



Robert Gouger.

CHAPTER II.

DRAWING THE PLANS.

As all roads lead to Rome, so the history of the British race everywhere leads to a national centre. For the colonization scheme of South Australia we must turn to England. We must go back to the time when the "Iron Duke" was taking an active part in politics, and when the Old Land was stirred from its centre to its circumference by the cry for constitutional reform.

For many years before the colonization of South Australia was mooted England was in a very disturbed state. The condition of the working classes was deplorable. Trade was languishing; some of the mills and manufactories had to cease work; the supply of labour was far in excess of the demand. The modern humanitarian spirit had scarcely opened its eyes. Both in politics and commerce a spirit of selfishness prevailed. The iniquitous corn laws reveal the greedy, grasping, oppressive character of the times. These, by making bread dear, added to the general distress. So many poor were receiving parish pay that the burden became intolerable: in fact, some of the parishes collapsed beneath the strain. With poverty there was an increase of crime. Hungry men must have bread. Riotous mobs assembled; machinery and windows were broken; buildings were fired; and in 1820 there was a conspiracy for the assassination of the whole Ministry.

In this time of national distress some thoughtful, patriotic men turned their attention to emigration. At the antipodes were vast tracts of waste lands waiting for the Anglo-Saxon to come and occupy them.

Prominent among these patriotic spirits were Robert Gouger, Colonel Torrens, George Fife Angas, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Wolryche Whitmore, William Hutt, William A. Mackinnon, Jacob Montefiore, and George Grote (the famous historian).[2]

[2] The names of these men are perpetuated in the nomenclature of our State. We have Gouger Street, the River Torrens (named after Colonel Torrens; not after his famous son, Sir R. R. Torrens, as some suppose), Angas Street, Wakefield Street, Whitmore Square, Hutt Street, Mackinnon Parade, Montefiore Hill, Grote Street.

Some of these were known as "the theorists of 1830"; others were hard-headed business men.

Four of them deserve special notice. They were the primary suns, so to speak, in colonization schemes, round which the lesser lights rotated. These were Robert Gouger, Colonel Torrens, George Fife Angas, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

Robert Gouger was born in 1802. His early days were spent at Stamford, in Lincolnshire. In politics he became a Radical and took a deep interest in the welfare of the poor. He was associated with Robert Owen, the Socialist. Robert Gouger was a man brimful of energy and of indomitable perseverance. It was his radicalism, energy, and love for adventure that led him in 1830 to connect himself with a revolutionary movement in Spain. On his return to his native country he turned his attention to colonization. He saw the masses in England in a state of chronic poverty, and was convinced that emigration was the panacea for social woes. It was this conviction that led him to form several colonization societies. He met with one disappointment after another, but heroically kept at his post. There is no need to further trace his career just now, as we shall frequently meet with him in the course of our history.

Colonel Torrens was an officer in the British Army who became profoundly interested in social and political reforms. He published some works dealing with political economy and is said to have been the first to attribute the production of wealth to land, labour, and capital. In 1831 he entered the British House of Commons. It was during this year that Edward G. Wakefield called on Colonel Torrens to ask his co-operation in the establishment of a colony in South Australia. After considering the question for some time the Colonel gave his consent. No man (except Robert Gouger) worked harder than he. Colonel Torrens hoped to be the first Governor of the colony, and claimed to be its founder. Writing to Lord John Russell, when the Select Committee on South Australian affairs was sitting in 1841, Colonel Torrens said:—"The colony of South Australia devised by Mr. Wakefield was planted by me. When all the other commissioners nominated by Lord Monteagle (Mr. Spring Rice) abandoned the task I continued to persevere, and, with the sanction of Lord Aberdeen and of Lord Glenelg, organized a new commission for carrying the Act of Parliament into effect. The planting of 15,000 settlers in South Australia was the result of my exertions, and

these 15,000 whom I urged from their homes have been overtaken by a disaster endangering their welfare, perhaps their lives. Under the heavy responsibility pressing upon me I felt it impossible to abstain from establishing the fact that the disaster would not have occurred if my measures had not been overruled." Colonel Torrens fought hard in the interests of the Reform Bill and sat in the Reformed Parliament. He died May 27th, 1864.

George Fife Angas, in the history of our Province, has a unique place. There is no need for an extended reference here, for in pages to come we shall frequently refer to him. He took a deep and active interest in the social, religious, and political life of the pioneer community, and throughout his long life was one of the pillars of the State. George Fife Angas was in all the early legislative Assemblies, except the old Nominee Council established in Governor Grey's time. He fought hard for religious liberty and helped to mould the Constitution of the Province on a liberal basis. He retired from political life in 1866 and died at Lindsay House, Angaston, May 15th, 1879, aged ninety years. It was he who made practicable the founding of South Australia by the formation of the South Australian Company, and who worked hard in the interests of the Province before he reached its shores.[3]

Edward Gibbon Wakefield was born in London in 1796 and after an eventful life in the Old Country died in Canterbury, New Zealand, in 1862. Though he did not come very prominently before the public in connection with the founding of South Australia he was one of the chief instruments in securing this result. His was the unseen hand that pulled many of the colonization strings. For private reasons he had to keep in the background. Wakefield had been guilty of a foolish escapade that marred his usefulness and to some extent blighted his life. In 1873 Colonel Palmer (one of the original South Australian Commissioners) took steps to have a monument erected to the memory of Wakefield in South Australia, but the movement collapsed.

The founding of South Australia was to be an experiment on the basis of the Wakefield principle. Wakefield's contention was that the land should be sold at a certain price per acre and the proceeds should be devoted to the emigration of labourers. In this way it was thought that the balance could be maintained between demand for

(3) See his Life, by Edwin Hodder.

labour and supply of labour; that "the capitalist should never suffer from an urgent want of labourers, and that labourers should never want well-paid employment."

In 1831 Colonel Torrens, with a deputation of intending colonists (Robert Gouger included), waited on Lord Goderich (Secretary of State for the Colonies) in relation to the colonization of South Australia. An outline of the plan of the proposed colony was laid before his lordship. The discussions which took place upon the Reform Bill, and a dissolution of Parliament, put an end for the time being to negotiations. The movement collapsed. Some of the intending settlers emigrated to Canada and some to the United States.

Later on another attempt was made to float the colony. This was on the basis of a joint-stock land company. It was a failure.

The South Australian Association.

At the beginning of 1834 the South Australian Association was formed. An old print that lies before me gives the "outline of the plan of a proposed colony to be founded on the south coast of Australia, with an account of the soil, climate, rivers, etc." It also gives the prospectus of the South Australian Association, the object of which was "to found a colony under Royal Charter." The public were informed that "a committee sat daily at the office of the Association, 8, Adelphi Chambers, London, for the purpose of giving information to persons disposed to settle in the colony."

Among other reasons why this part of the world should be colonized by English people the old print before me says: —"There is every reason to believe that the whole of extra-tropical Australia is free from endemic disease. The seaboard advantages of South Australia were very great. The magnificent harbour of Port Lincoln would be the chief emporium for the trade of that region, and Coffin's Bay would eventually receive all the produce of the line of coast to the west. It was expected that the country would yield coal, woods of various kinds, and bark for tanning. Salt fish would find a ready market in Peru, Chili, and the Isle of France. Wheat and flour would find a market in the Isle of France, the Cape, Rio Janeiro, and probably China. Tobacco, flax, hemp, and cotton were to be grown."

In the light of seventy years' experience it is refreshing to read the glowing anticipations of those who were labour-

ing to give birth to our State. The "magnificent harbour of Port Lincoln," which was to be "the chief emporium for the trade of that region," is only just beginning to realize its possibilities: while Coffin's Bay, which was to "receive all the produce of the west," remains much as it was seventy years ago. The "export of salt fish to Peru, Chili, and the Isle of France" will be one of the surprises of the future. We have done much in the way of exporting wheat, flour, and bark for tanning, but the "cultivation of tobacco, flax, hemp, and cotton" is a part of the original plan that generations to come must fulfil.

We leave No. 8, Adelphi Chambers, London, and go to Exeter Hall. It is June 30th, 1834. A great number of people are making their way to the historic building. Carriages are driving up and their occupants are stepping out. In the manner and address of the people there is great animation. It is a meeting of the promoters and friends of the proposed colony of South Australia called by the South Australian Association. About 2,500 persons, including many members of Parliament, are present. Wolryche Whitmore, M.P., is in the chair. After stating the object for which the meeting is called he deals with the question of colonization. "He would direct attention to a defect in colonization schemes: the labourer went out without that capital which was necessary to enable him to employ his labour to advantage. It was their duty to consider the best means for remedying that defect. This might be done by establishing a system that all the waste lands they were about to colonize should be sold at a given price, and the proceeds of such sale be devoted to sending out to the colony a sufficient number of labourers to cultivate the land sold. He would endeavour to show there was a country in which their principles could be fairly tried. Every person must be aware of the enormous extent of the country under British dominion in Australia. It possessed a climate as fine as any in the world. It abounded in harbours, which were necessary to render it a great country. All that it wanted was an intelligent people to occupy it. If such were done, in time to come it would take its station among the great nations of the earth. Such would be an advantage to the Mother Country: the pressure of population would be relieved and a field would be opened up for British commerce. There was another object of primary importance. He believed they could not expect success unless the people were a moral and religious people. How to effect this would be an important question for the

consideration of the directors of the colony. The reason for founding an established Church would not be applicable to a new colony such as they proposed to establish. He looked upon anything like the absence of religion with horror, but in what was now called the Voluntary Principle there would be ample means for providing religious instruction in the colony."

Addresses were subsequently delivered by several members of Parliament, including Colonel Torrens.

One of the most important resolutions was moved by our worthy pioneer, Richard Davies Hanson, in after years the Chief Justice of our Province: The resolution stated "that amongst the unoccupied portions of the earth which form part of the British dominions the south-east coast of Australia appears to be a spot peculiarly suitable for founding a colony upon the principles embodied in preceding resolutions." Mr. Hanson said: "The place where the colony was to be founded was one distinguished from every part of Australia. It possessed facilities of internal communication even prior to the formation of roads. Along the shores of the two gulfs in the colony the colonists might easily convey all their produce to its central market. In the same manner they might also obtain those comforts and luxuries of life which they could not produce at home. Before the discovery made by Captain Sturt, of the Murray, those who had considered the subject had satisfied themselves that there was a sufficiency of fertile soil not only to support the colonists, but to repay most amply all the toil which they might bestow on it. He would not go more fully at present into the description of the soil and climate of the place, for enough had been said to satisfy any reasonable person, and perhaps they would take it as a proof of his sincerity when he informed them that he intended to form one of the first settlers himself."

The resolution moved by Mr. Hanson was unanimously carried.

The efforts of the South Australian Association were successful, much of the credit being due to Robert Gouger. Let the descendants of the pioneers, whenever they are brought in contact with Gouger Street, remember the debt of gratitude they owe to the man whose name it bears. As Secretary of the South Australian Association it was Gouger's joy in 1834 to see a Colonization Bill, on the principles that he espoused and advocated, introduced by Mr. Whitmore into the House of Commons and supported by Mr. Spring-Rice, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Colonization Plan.

The promoters of the colony—the "experimental philosophers," as they were sarcastically termed—had given much thought to the scheme. It was an experiment in the art of colonization and one in which they took great pride. They wished to make it as independent of Parliamentary control as possible. They desired a fairly free hand. This is the reason why provision was made for placing the management of the colony in the hands of Commissioners, which proved to be a clumsy and ultimately impossible piece of legislation: it led to a dual and divided authority. In fact, as we shall see in the course of our history, dualism was the bane of the colony in its early stages. By putting the control of the colony under Commissioners those interested in the experiment wished to prevent any Government official from interference with their plans without the authority of Parliament. The Board of Commissioners were to superintend the sale of lands and to exercise a general control over the matter of emigration. Land was to be sold at 12s. an acre. The Commissioners were empowered to raise the price when they thought proper. The whole of the purchase-money from land was to be administered by the commissioners, not the Government, and was to be spent by them in sending out emigrants of the two sexes in equal proportion, not to exceed the age of thirty; £3 each had to be paid for children between one and fifteen years of age. At fifteen years of age they were to come out free. The Act pledged the Crown to give a constitution as soon as the population numbered 50,000 persons. No convicts were to be sent to the colony. The Government stipulated that £35,000 worth of land had to be sold before the colonizing scheme could become operative. This was to be an indication that among the intending colonists there was no deficiency of capital: £20,000 was also to be raised and placed in the hands of trustees, as a guarantee or security that the colony would not be a charge on the Mother Country. The Commissioners were empowered to borrow money to the extent of £200,000 on the security of a colony that as yet had no real existence.

DISCUSSIONS IN PARLIAMENT AND PRESS.



George Fife Angas

CHAPTER III.

DISCUSSIONS IN PARLIAMENT AND PRESS.

Initial Difficulties.

We now enter the House of Commons. July 23rd, 1834, was a memorable day for Robert Gouger, Colonel Torrens, and others who had been long trying to fashion and to float our Province. On that day Mr. Wolryche Whitmore moved the second reading of the South Australian Colonization Bill. This was at 2 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Young objected to proceeding with the Bill at that late hour. He moved that it be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. Whitmore briefly explained the object of the Bill.

Mr. Shiel remarked that in his own parish there were upwards of two hundred a week who said: "Give us food or give us work," while it was not possible to do either. He thought the Bill deserved consideration.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Spring-Rice) felt called upon to say, on behalf of the Government, that in the sanction which the Ministers had given to the introduction of the Bill there had not been any undue encouragement. The authors of the Bill had made out a strong *prima facie* case. Not only so, they had also given such explanation of the principles on which the colonization was to be conducted as induced him to hope that the plans would have a successful issue. Some engagements would have to be entered into and some sums of money deposited for the purpose of securing the State against any charges. He suggested that there should be covenants and a certain sum of money put down as a guarantee. It had been arranged that £20,000 should be placed by the authors of the project in the hands of the Treasury.

Mr. Hughes affirmed that it was absurd to expect the House to jump to a conclusion on a subject which had occupied the framers of the Bill nine or ten months. He was disposed to move that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months. He would move that it be read a second time that day week.

Sir H. Willoughby was anxious to state briefly his reason for supporting the amendment of his hon. friend (Mr. Hughes). At the hour in the morning at which the House had arrived it was impossible to give proper discussion to a colonizing scheme which differed from all others. He wanted to know how (if this scheme should fail) these poor labourers were to be reconveyed home.

This pathetic and fatherly enquiry was rather too much for the House, especially in the small hours of the morning. No doubt many of the members were thinking how long a time would elapse before they were "reconveyed home." There were cries of "divide!" "divide!"

The gallery was then cleared for a division, the result being—

For the second reading	33
Against	17
Majority	16

On July 29th, 1834, the Bill came up again for discussion. Mr. Baring, one of the leading members of the House of Commons, must have given the members an entertaining time. He represented the Bill for the Colonization of South Australia as the most extraordinary that had ever been introduced into the House. He would call the attention of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the subject. Though the Bill professed to be brought in by the hon. member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Whitmore) and to be supported by the hon. and gallant member behind him (Colonel Torrens), yet when the House considered the immense extent of the scheme, and how Crown lands were involved in it, it became very difficult to know how it could be considered otherwise than as a Government measure. His first objection was to the period at which the Bill had been brought forward, at the close of the session. He thought it was too much to call upon Parliament at such a moment to deliberate upon so grave and comprehensive a subject as that of colonizing South Australia. The real object of the colony was to realize the views of a set of gentlemen whom he hoped he should not offend by calling experimental philosophers, and with whom this was a favourite and long-cherished theory. Those philosophers were about to form a colony upon a principle which would throw all others in the shade. They were persons possessing great and varied powers of mind and most enlarged understandings. He was of opinion that plain, practical men

were much better able to conduct the affairs of mankind than persons who advocated particular theories. If they wished merely to make an experiment, why had they not seized upon some moderately-sized cabbage garden without going to a country nobody knew where, and grasping a tract of land embracing several degrees of latitude and longitude, and bounded only by the great geographical line of the tropic of Capricorn? He regarded the Bill as a speculation. He objected to it because it raised a large sum of money by way of mortgage, and thus the management and future government of the country was taken out of the hands of the Crown. He would say take one hundred miles square, and he asked if that were not enough for these gentlemen to play their pranks in. Why block up half the great continent by seizing on such an immense tract of land? The very distance would make it impossible to form a settlement to any considerable extent. The money to be borrowed was £200,000 in the first instance. The basis on which the whole plan rested was that no land was to be sold under 12s. an acre, and so positive were the philosophers in this theory that they would not leave it to the Government to interfere in any respect. He would pledge his existence on the fact that the principle of paying 12s. an acre, and not allowing any credit, could not be practically acted upon, yet it was on this principle that the whole plan mainly rested. He expressed the opinion that the smallest quantity of land an emigrant (a capitalist) could take up was 200 acres, which would cost him £120 in ready money. It would cost him £120 more to remove his family, and he must spend at least £500 to stock the land. He would put it to any man acquainted with the condition of the people to say was any person so great a fool as to lay out these sums of money to set himself down upon 200 acres of land in a community of kangaroos? Then in what way was the land to be worked? Why, they expected the English labourer would go over there to work for them (convict labour not being permitted), but they would be disappointed—the labourer would not go to Australia to promote the experiments of others. He considered the details of the Bill quite impracticable. Two hundred thousand pounds was to be borrowed to send emigrants over to people the colony. He objected to bonds being circulated through the country, apparently on the faith of an Act of Parliament, as they would tend very much to delude the public, who might advance the money, and would have the effect of lowering the credit of the country. There was

another absurdity in the Bill: it was provided that those who lent the money should get it back upon three months' notice, but how were they to get back their money from the tropic of Capricorn?

After this breezy and sarcastic speech, of which only an epitome has been given, Mr. Whitmore (who had charge of the Bill) addressed the House, replying *seriatim* to the objections raised. One sentence especially deserves to be put on record: "He would not say that their theory was right. It was yet untried and might prove erroneous; but he would say that there was no class of philosophers or theorists (whatever the hon. member pleased to call them) who ever undertook a plan of any kind with less prospect of personal advantage to themselves." This statement was true.

The Secretary of State (Mr. Spring-Rice) said the Government was fully aware of the difficulties which surrounded the question, but these were overbalanced by the great advantages and the great possibilities of success held out by the propositions contained in the Bill. They had, therefore, determined to countenance the Bill, considering it one of the duties of the Government to do everything in its power to extend the advantage of British institutions to every part of the globe.

The House divided over the question as to whether the Bill should go into committee. The voting was:—

For the motion	72
Against	7
Majority	65

It was stated in committee that the colony possessed two of the finest harbours in the world, and that 160 settlers, with ample means, were anxious immediately to emigrate.

The third reading of the Bill passed the House of Commons on August 5th, 1834.

Three days later it was introduced into the House of Lords by the Marquis of Clanricarde, with a petition in its favour. It passed the House of Lords on August 14th, 1834, and next day received Royal assent.

The safe and speedy passage of the Bill through the House of Lords was largely due to the hero of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington. For his services he was told by three of the promoters of the colony that its capital should bear his name. This promise was not fulfilled. After the Bill was passed the Commissioners named the capital of the new colony Adelaide, as a compliment to the King and Queen.

The Bill before the Public.

The London *Times* did not take kindly to the South Australian colonization scheme. From first to last the position taken up by that powerful paper was one of consistent and persistent antagonism. Before the Bill was introduced into Parliament *The Times* expressed its "entire distrust of the whole character and tendencies of such a project," and a hope that it would be "strangled in the birth." In the editorial eye the scheme was a land-grabbing venture. The paper was against a movement "that had power to seduce the ignorant and credulous beyond the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of Britain." To the editor of *The Times* all such "crotchety undertakings" were "humbugs and something more." "Who," he asked, in one issue, "that has capital to lay out on landed property will go beyond the verge of the civilized world? We take it for granted that the hope of mercantile profit by exporting wheat to England from such a distance would hardly ever enter into the motive of a sober-minded man. We have been charged with ignorance of the details of these gentlemen's boasted projects. We can only say that our distrust and contempt for the whole of them is founded on those projects as explained by themselves. They have put forth a dream and called it a calculation; they have put forth a piece of social mechanism of which the chief recommendation is that it will not work itself, but will require a perpetual, laborious, and most precarious auxiliary system of external aid to support it." Everything that had occurred since the project for the colonization of South Australia had been mooted only confirmed "the suspicion and dislike" with which the editor of *The Times* regarded it. As the scheme would "neither bear the test of deliberation nor the risk of a moderately full House of Commons" the promoters were "managing to smuggle the whole ugly job" through the Parliament. *The Times* complimented Mr. Baring on his speech and expressed astonishment that the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the House of Commons should countenance "such wild-goose quackery." There was "no bubble of the year" more deserving of reprobation than "the South Australian humbug."

It is only fair to say that some of the criticisms of *The Times* were farseeing, and history proved their soundness.

The Standard affirmed that Mr. Baring had exposed, with complete success, the jobbing character of the South

Australian Colonization Bill, and no doubt would have succeeded in blocking the measure, but many of the liberal members of the House of Commons were directors or shareholders in the concern.

If the editor of *The Courier* had any thought of emigrating he would prefer going to a colony managed on the old plan. The projectors of the new colony were proceeding on a different principle, which would make the colony as unlike an old country as possible. They assured the public that the plan adopted was a sovereign panacea for all the evils hitherto incidental to colonization; that jobbery and even patronage would have no place in this happy land. The editor of *The Courier* could not sympathize with these anticipations. In his judgment the colonization of South Australia on the basis of the Bill before the House of Commons was a "quackish project," but he thought that "the varnish was too thin" and "the rottenness of the plan too obvious" to allow it to seduce the public. If a colony on the principles proposed were founded at Spencer's Gulf, though it might "want convicts," it would not certainly "be destitute of blockheads." *The Courier* thought that the whole scheme "was an experiment on the gullibility of the public."

The First Commissioners.

After the South Australian Bill had received Royal assent the Secretary of State (Mr. Spring-Rice) and Mr. Wolryche Whitmore, M.P., selected the Commissioners. The following were named:—

J. W. Childers, M.P. (after whom Childers Street, North Adelaide, is named), W. Clay, M.P., G. Grote, M.P., G. W. Norman, Colonel Torrens, M.P., and W. Whitmore, M.P. (after whom Whitmore Square is called).

Delays and Difficulties.

The birth-pangs of South Australia were severe and protracted. The leading newspapers were hostile. There were many who treated the scheme with indifference and others who were secret or open foes. On more than one occasion after the passing of the Colonization Bill it seemed as though the movement must collapse.

Toward the end of 1834 there was a change of Government. The consequence was that all the gentlemen who had been selected as Commissioners by Mr. Spring-Rice resigned,

with the exception of Colonel Torrens, who manfully kept to his post.

Colonel Torrens and Robert Gouger then waited upon the new Secretary of State (Lord Aberdeen) to receive his instructions. The latter stated that the functions of the South Australian Commissioners were not connected with party politics, and that he was able to give effect to the Colonization Act. He asked Colonel Torrens to give the names of gentlemen interested in the proposed colony who might be willing to act as Commissioners. This the Colonel did.

Before Lord Aberdeen would proceed further he wished to know in what position the Commissioners stood to the Crown. Were they to be accountable to the Crown and personally responsible for the receipt and expenditure of the money obtained by the sale of lands in the proposed colony? Before this question was satisfactorily settled there came another change of Government.

Lord Glenelg (after whom our chief watering-place is named) now came into office as Secretary of State for the Colonies. He took action at once in the founding of South Australia. On May 5th, 1835, the following Commissioners were gazetted:—

Colonel Torrens	Jacob Montefiore
W. A. Mackinnon	John Wright
William Hutt	Samuel Mills
George Palmer	George Fife Angas
Edward Barnard	J. Shaw-Lefevre

ROWLAND HILL, SECRETARY.[4]

To make the colonization scheme operative this Board of Commissioners had to sell £35,000 worth of land and to raise a guarantee fund of £20,000. Before this could be done there were preliminary difficulties. Considerable expense had to be incurred in providing offices, engaging clerks and agents, and in explaining to the public through the Press the principles on which the colony was to be founded. The Govern-

[4] One of the Commissioners (William Hutt) was the earliest advocate of Mr. Wakefield's colonization views and the main instrument in bringing them before the public. Rowland Hill was the father of penny postage. I have already pointed out in the previous chapter the connection between the names of some of the promoters of our State and its streets and terraces. A few more may be given: Palmer Place, Barnard Street, Hill Street, Wright Street, Lefevre Terrace.

ment would give no aid, not even to the extent of passing letters through the Post Office free of charge, which it was requested to do. The Commissioners were cast upon their own private resources and those of the friends of the colony to get money to carry on the work. But they were determined and patriotic men. Robert Gouger promised to advance £500 and John Brown (whom we shall meet again) £250 toward the expenses. Another gentleman offered to make an advance of money for the immediate expenses of the Commissioners. Mr. Barnes agreed to advance £1,000 for the purchase of land and Mr. Mills to take £1,000 in colonial securities. Colonel Torrens invested £1,000 in the purchase of land. In this way the pressing financial needs were met and the Commissioners went on with their work.

The difficulty in meeting the financial requirements of the Colonization Act seemed to be insuperable. The Commissioners had to borrow £20,000 on the security of the resources of a colony not actually in existence and to raise £35,000 by the sale of land possessing only an anticipated value. Their task was made the more difficult by the hostility of the leading papers. The public was dubious; some were afraid of a second South Sea Bubble. The apparent risky nature of the speculation made interest very high.

One of the Commissioners (Mr. John Wright) undertook to raise the £20,000 guarantee. A loan of £30,000 was negotiated by him, bearing interest at 10 per cent.

The sale of the land was the crux of the position. The conditions were that the land was to be sold in sections of eighty acres at £1 per acre, with a town acre added, the whole costing £81. Although the Bill had passed on August 14th, 1834, and the Commissioners had worked hard to comply with its conditions and to advertise the colony, by December 2nd, 1835, little more than £26,000 worth of land had been sold. The Commissioners found it necessary to temporarily reduce the price of land to 12s. per acre.

George Fife Angas now came prominently upon the scene. He suggested the formation of a Company to buy up the quantity of land required, and in other ways to give the colony a start. Here an error must be pointed out. It was not the South Australian Company that bought up the remaining £9,000 worth of land that was necessary to meet the requirements of the Colonization Act, as some have wrongly supposed. The facts of the case are these: Two or three gentlemen (Mr. Angas being one) interested in the proposed colony put their capital together and bought up the

land. When the £35,000 worth of land was sold the South Australian Company was not in existence. When giving evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1841 Mr. Angas was asked, "At what price did the Company buy the land?" The reply was: "The Company, in fact, did not purchase any land of the Commissioners. I must explain. The Company did not exist when the remainder of the £35,000 worth of land was obtained. Three individuals joined their capital for the purpose of purchasing from £9,000 to £10,000 worth of land, which they obtained, in common with other purchasers, at 12s. per acre." This was to be handed over to the Company (if formed) on certain conditions.

On January 22nd, 1836, the South Australian Company was formed. Its directors were George Fife Angas (Chairman), Raikes Currie, M.P., Charles Hindley, M.P., James Hyde, Henry Kingscote, John Pirie, John Rundle, M.P., Thomas Smith, James R. Todd, Henry Waymouth, and Christopher Rawson.[5]

In the founding of South Australia the Company that bears its name rendered great and splendid service, but the Company must not be looked upon in the light of a purely patriotic or philanthropic institution. Like all other financial enterprises, it was more egoistic than altruistic. It made great profits.

During December, 1835, all the initial difficulties in the way of founding the colony were overcome. The provisions of the Bill were met. The Board of Commissioners decided that a letter should be sent to the Government asking it to issue an order erecting the Province, and to take other steps consequent on the fulfilment of the provisions of the Act. There was still a delay over some minor matters. It was not till January 31st, 1836, that a letter was received by the Commissioners stating that the "Letters Patent and Orders-in-Council had been laid before the King for His Majesty's sanction."

On February 22nd, 1836, Captain Hindmarsh was gazetted as Governor of South Australia, and the following gentlemen were chosen to fill official positions: —

Resident Commissioner—James Hurtle Fisher.
Colonial Secretary—Robert Gouger.

[5] It is interesting to note the connection between the names of some of the directors of the Company and our streets: Rundle, Hindley, Currie, Pirie, Angas, and Waymouth Streets. Kingscote, Kangaroo Island, is named after Henry Kingscote.

Judge—Sir John Jeffcott.
Advocate-General—Charles Mann.
Harbourmaster—Captain T. Lipson.
Governor's Secretary—George Stevenson.
Colonial Treasurer—Osmond Gilles.
Immigration Agent—John Brown.
Surveyor-General—Colonel Light.
Deputy-Surveyor—George Strickland Kingston.
Assistant Surveyors—Boyle Travers Finniss, William Jacob, etc.

Twice every year the Board of Commissioners were to lay before the Secretary of State for the Colonies "full and particular accounts of receipts and disbursements." The Resident Commissioner was furnished with a body of instructions from the Board. "By kindness and conciliation" and by the adoption of wise, economical methods he was to attach the emigrants to their adopted land. It is interesting to note that the Commissioners were of opinion that "the economical institution, which seemed best calculated to promote habits of frugality and industry and to bind the working classes to the colony, was a Savings Bank."

South Australians should gratefully remember the first Board of Commissioners. With one exception they served gratuitously. Theirs was a great responsibility. In spite of discouragement, misrepresentation, tremendous difficulties, and much opposition they launched a new experiment in colonization which, notwithstanding certain reverses, with which we shall have to deal, ultimately proved a great success.

PREPARING TO BUILD.



Governor Hindmarsh.

CHAPTER IV.

PREPARING TO BUILD.

We are still in the Old Land seventy-six years ago. In anticipation of the founding of the colony some intending emigrants are taking time by the forelock. The thought has suggested itself to the minds of some of them that in the new land settlers might become so absorbed in things relating to the body as to neglect the cultivation of the mind. An antidote must be provided. Some of the more thoughtful spirits have talked the matter over, and have decided to form what is termed "The South Australian Literary Association."(6) The objects of the Society were stated to be: "The cultivation and diffusion of useful knowledge throughout the colony." Colonel Napier was appointed President and Osmond Gilles Treasurer. Among the committee of management we find such honoured names as Robert Gouger, John Brown, Richard Davies Hanson, and George Strickland Kingston. A copy of the rules of the society was laid before the Under-Secretary of State, who was impressed with the intellectual calibre of some of the intending emigrants.

The first conversazione in connection with this society was held in London on September 5th, 1834. Richard Davies Hanson delivered the inaugural address. Said he: "The occasion of our meeting this evening is the establishment of a Literary Association among the intending colonists of South Australia. . . . The reasons which have induced its formation in this country are: 1. The advantages which may be expected from 'possessing mature organization in the first moments of the colony': otherwise 'the time of all might be too much occupied with other and more pressing concerns to allow of their originating such a society.' 2. Another advantage in forming the Association would be 'the opportunity afforded by its existence in England to make arrangements, and to obtain books and apparatus, which could not, with equal facilities, be made or obtained elsewhere.' 3. But in addition to these more immediate motives there 'would

(6) The old minute-book of the society has come to light. Quite accidentally it was discovered among some old books in the Colonial Office in London. It is now in the Public Library, Adelaide.

be very great collateral advantages resulting to intended colonists from the periodical meetings of the Association.' They would 'tend to bring them into more immediate acquaintance with each other.' The meetings would 'afford opportunities for the mutual development and discussion of ideas and plans.' The outcome would be 'habits of union and co-operation of the utmost value to an infant settlement.' "

Robert Gouger presented the library, consisting of many volumes, to the Association, and was made a life member. Before any emigrants left the Old Land an alteration was made in the name of the society. It was called by a more ambitious title—"The South Australian Literary and Scientific Association."

All this is intensely interesting to South Australians, as it is probable that this society was the germ out of which the South Australian Institute grew. Some of the books presented by Robert Gouger found their way into the Institute and thence into our Public Library, where they may be seen to-day.

We leave this small band of intending emigrants, bent upon the cultivation of the mind, and attend another meeting of a more material character. It is in the year 1835, and the place of meeting is Exeter Hall, London. Colonel Torrens, M.P., is in the chair. The Duke of Wellington is not able to attend. His apology is read. The gathering is a most jovial one. A dinner is being given to Captain John Hindmarsh, R.N., whose "appointment as Governor of the new colony of South Australia His Majesty King William IV. has most graciously approved." Among those present are George Fife Angas and John Morphett, of whom we shall frequently have to speak. The "health of the Duke of Wellington and other members of the House of Lords who supported the South Australian Colonization Bill" is proposed. The members who supported the Bill in the House of Commons are honoured in the same way, with "three times three." It is a most enthusiastic gathering. The cheering is "immense." All present seem to be of opinion that the new colony about to be founded in South Australia will be a great success. The Chairman speaks of South Australia as a land "where the climate of Paradise seems to have survived the Fall." In wiser words he says:—"Britons cannot compel all nations to receive British goods more freely, but they can plant new nations to become customers. They can open unlimited markets in the now boundless forests. . . . In the growing markets of Austra-

lia England will find not only increasing supplies of the most valuable materials, but also an increasing demand for her fabrics." In conclusion, he says:—"The colony of South Australia may now be considered as established. Biddings have already been made for the whole—and for more than the whole—of the land required by Act of Parliament to be disposed of before the first expedition shall depart. In a few weeks the first emigrants will be departing from these shores; they will go to eat pleasant bread in a pleasant land—at all events, the prayer of the present company will go with them. . . . Let their ways be ways of pleasantness and all their paths be peace."

After the lapse of some seventy-four years the descendants of the first emigrants can afford to smile at some of these post-prandial remarks. If Colonel Torrens had been caught in a South Australian duststorm or had sat in a shepherd's hut in the northern part of the Province on a hot summer's day, with the heat 114 degrees in the shade, he would have had grave doubts as to whether the climate of South Australia (healthy as it is) had "survived the Fall."

But we are in Exeter Hall many, many years ago. Another speaker rises. He tells the company that the first batch of emigrants are a "body of men who in numbers, in intelligence, in respectability, in everything which constitutes religious and moral worth far surpass any body of Englishmen who ever thought of settling in a distant colony since the days of William Penn." "Gentlemen," he says, "let us drink to the health, happiness, and prosperity of the emigrants to South Australia. May their community long flourish, a bright image of the moral, social, and political greatness of the parent country, unaffected by any of the evils which are inseparable from older societies."

Another speaker is John Morphett, who rose to distinction in the new land, lived to a grand old age, and was knighted by the Queen. Speaking on behalf of the emigrants, among other things he says: "In heart I am now a South Australian."

The Governor-Elect is now on his feet—no ordinary man. The memory of such brings a flush of pride to the cheek and makes an English heart, though born in Australia, beat fast. He fought under Nelson at the Nile and at Trafalgar.

At the battle of the Nile John Hindmarsh was a midshipman on board the *Bellerophon*, and so destructive was the enemy's fire that for some time he was the only officer left on the quarter-deck. He received a wound on the head which

deprived him of the sight of an eye, but he did not leave his post. The enemy's ship *L'Oriente* caught fire. The *Bellerophon* was in danger from the flames. Being the only officer on deck, Midshipman Hindmarsh ordered the topsail to be set and the cable to be cut, and thus saved the ship from destruction. He had his proud reward. Nelson summoned him to the deck and thanked him in the presence of the officers and crew. He had done his duty on that occasion. At the banquet now given in his honour he says: "As Governor of South Australia I will continue to do my duty." The aborigines are not forgotten. "My power as Governor," he continues, "will be of little avail without being seconded by the exertions of the colonists. I, therefore, call upon them to second me in this good work and, above all things, to prevent the aborigines from imbibing from them a taste for that bane of humanity—spirituous liquors: and I consider the most effective way the colonists can do this will be by setting them an example in forming one vast temperance society."

Alas! such good advice in relation to a few of the colonists was thrown away. The aborigines suffered much from their contact with some unprincipled and lecherous whites. They soon learned to drink, swear, gamble, and to commit baser sins. While as yet the first settlers dwelt in tents and bough booths on the shores of Holdfast Bay, notices were fastened to the gum-trees offering a reward for information as to the persons who supplied drink to the aborigines. To the shame of our race we have to acknowledge that one of the first cases tried in the infant settlement in South Australia was that in which two whites were charged with stealing a jacket and some spears and waddies from the aborigines. To-day they are a weak, degraded, decimated race, doomed to speedy extinction.

We leave the meeting in Exeter Hall and attend another. This is held in honour of Colonel Torrens. He had taken a great interest in the projected colony. Much of the success of the colonization scheme was due to him. It was Colonel Torrens as well as Robert Gouger who stood at the helm in every time of storm. It was only right that intending emigrants, in a very practical way, should acknowledge the fact. They subscribed a sum of money, purchased a silver vase, and called a meeting of intending colonists. John Morphett is asked to make the presentation. Addressing the Colonel he says: "I may aver, with great truth, sir, that our gratification will not terminate here, and I

foresee that in the country of our adoption, surrounded by the comforts and wealth which must necessarily flow from our settlement under principles so enlightened, we shall have it in our power to pay a future tribute of admiration the most gratifying to a noble mind. Under our own vine and fig-tree will be repeated the name of Torrens, coupled with praises and benedictions as to one to whom we are indebted for that freedom and happiness which we shall inherit as our birthright. It is a source of pride to me that I am going out to the colony to act in a capacity in which I shall insist in carrying out those principles which are the emanation of your wisdom and active benevolence."

The first batch of emigrants did not leave England as soon as Colonel Torrens anticipated. It was not till February, 1836, that the first two vessels—the *John Pirie* and the *Duke of York*—left the Old Land for Australian shores. These vessels were sent out by private enterprise. They belonged to the newly-formed South Australian Company.

It is in the *Duke of York* that we are specially interested. She was originally a Falmouth packet, built for speed, and sailed between Falmouth and New York. The South Australian Company purchased the vessel and had her specially fitted out for the Australian trip.

Our worthy pioneer (William L. Beare), who as a lad came out in the *Duke of York*, has furnished some incidents of the voyage. The vessel left St. Catherine's Docks on February 26th, 1836, with Captain Morgan in command.

It was a hazardous enterprise on which our pioneer fathers had entered, and the "setting out" was not at all auspicious. Before they lost sight of Old England severe storms were encountered, and the vessel had to put back twice for repairs. After getting clear of the English coast the passage was fine all the way.

In more ways than one the voyage was unique. Not only were the emigrants about to attempt a great experiment, but they were inspired by a great ideal. The leading spirits were men who feared God, who were satisfied that some intelligent power lay at the basis of things. They were conscious of an overruling Providence and of their dependence upon Him. Did ever a vessel set sail in which there was a higher moral tone than that which obtained on board the *Duke of York?* Mr. Beare has affirmed that during the whole voyage there was not a case of drunkenness, not even among the sailors, and there was an absence of all

offensive language. Captain Morgan was not only an excellent seaman, but a man of high Christian character. He kept a diary of the voyage, which is still extant in MS. form. On board the *Duke of York* the Captain made his influence felt. Every night prayers were offered, and on Sunday, both morning and evening, Divine service was held. On the Sunday afternoon the children were gathered together for religious instruction.

In after years the *Duke of York* was wrecked off Moreton Bay, on the Queensland coast. After the loss of the vessel Captain Morgan returned to England and took charge of the missionary ship *Camden*, sailing her to the South Sea Islands. He was with the famous missionary, John Williams, when the latter was murdered by the natives at Erromanga. For fifteen years he was in the service of the London Missionary Society as captain, and died at St. Kilda, near Melbourne, in 1864.

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS.



Colonel Light, Founder of Adelaide.

CHAPTER V.

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS.

Before South Australia was colonized there were a few white settlers upon its shores. They lived on Kangaroo Island. It was so called by Captain Flinders, who discovered it in 1802. At that time the island was uninhabited.

About seventeen years after Flinders' visit there were at least two white men on Kangaroo Island. How they got there we are not in a position to state. They were either escaped convicts from some of the older settlements or runaway sailors. In course of time these were joined by others. Wild men they were—hard as the rocks, salt as the sea. Away from the restraints of civilization they led a lawless life. The conscience was seared and the spiritual instincts blunted. Apparently they had no higher ambition in life than to gratify their material instincts. In a spiritual sense they must have descended almost to the level of the kangaroos. Their time was spent in whaling, sealing, and wallaby-hunting. Sometimes they made a trip to the mainland and stole some of the blacks. One of the early emigrants who came by the *Africaine* in 1836 has left on record a description of one of these marauders. She says: "We next proceeded round the island, and as we entered Nepean Bay the flag was hoisted and two guns fired to announce our approach. A boat in which was a gentleman of the name of Samuel Stephens (who came out in the *Duke of York*) came off, rowed by four men, one of whom was Nathaniel Thomas, who had been resident on the island many years, but his appearance, I thought, was more like that of a savage than an Englishman. This man, by some mischance, fell overboard, and as the tide was running strong at the time he was carried some distance from the vessel before assistance could be rendered, and although he could swim well enough, he was watched by those on board with considerable anxiety, on account of the sharks, which were known to be numerous. An oar, however, was thrown to him on which he got astride till the boat reached him; and when he was again on the deck he shook himself like a dog does when just out of the water, and took no more notice of the matter."[7]

[7] Diary of Mrs. Robert Thomas.

Before the year 1836 these white buccaneers had a whole island to themselves. They were "monarchs of all they surveyed," their "right there was no one to dispute." In fact, one of them was named "Governor Walker" or "Wallen." He had been on the island for many years and had gone in for land cultivation. He died while on a visit to Adelaide in 1856, his body being carried back to the island for interment.

A change was coming, one that these wild sealers and hunters viewed with considerable apprehension. In 1836 a vessel hove in sight. We can imagine how curiously the natives on the mainland, as well as the white buccaneers on Kangaroo Island, watched her as she mysteriously tacked along the coast, making for Nepean Bay. At length she dropped anchor. This was on Wednesday, July 27th, 1836. It was the *Duke of York*, commanded by Captain C. R. Morgan. She had brought the first contingent of emigrants to the new land. In addition to officers and sailors (who went back with the ship) there were thirteen passengers on board,[8] nine adults and four children. As this event will ever have historical value we give the names of the passengers:—Mr. Samuel Stephens (first manager of the South Australian Company), Mr. Thomas Hudson Beare, Mrs. Lucy Ann Beare, and the following children:—Lucy, Arabella, Elizabeth, and William L. Beare;[9] also Charlotte Hudson Beare (afterwards Mrs. Samuel Stephens) and Messrs. Thomas Mitchell, Charles Powell, D. H. Schreyvogle, William West, and C. Neall. These were the pioneer settlers in South Australia—the first contingent of sinewy men and women who were to make the "parched ground a pool" and the "wilderness blossom as the rose."

The day before the vessel anchored the captain wrote in his Journal: "At 8 a.m. we saw the Island of Kangaroo ahead, bearing by compass N.N.E. At 5 p.m. shortened sail. Ran during the night a moderate distance from Kangaroo Island. In the evening held a prayer meeting. Read the twentieth

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[8] Some records give the number as thirty-eight. The explanation is that the officers and crew of the vessel were reckoned with the passengers.

[9] William L. Beare continued with us till July 16th, 1910, when he passed away at Glenelg in his eighty-fifth year. He was the last living link connecting the first shipload of settlers with the large population that covers South Australia to-day. He was with us nearly seventy-four years, and to those interested in the history of the State his death made a most impressive gap.

chapter of Acts. Four prayed. Sang several hymns, and found it good to pray almost in sight of our haven." The day following some of the passengers landed.

Jetties, of course, there were none. The passengers would be carried "pick-a-back" by the sailors, or wade through the surf to the shore. There seems to have been some competition among the passengers of the *Duke of York* as to who should be the first to put foot on South Australian soil. The captain soon settled the question. The boat was launched. "Baby Beare" was put on board. She was rowed to the beach, and amid the cheers of the immigrants one of the sailors carried her through the surf and planted her feet on the shore.

What was the first act of the settlers on reaching the shore? Was it to go on an exploring expedition? To attend to their material wants? No. To give thanks to God. There was neither ordained preacher nor temple made with hands. In the great temple of Nature, under the blue vault of heaven, they returned thanks for the mercies of the voyage. Is it not a picture worthy of the poet's muse or the painter's brush? A little band of men and women—pioneer settlers, nation-builders—met on the shores of a country practically unknown. Before them is the ocean. Riding at anchor in Nepean Bay is the vessel in which they have sailed. Behind is the dense scrub of Kangaroo Island. Away in the distance the mainland on which they will ultimately dwell. Under foot the beach of Nepean Bay. Captain Morgan stands up. The immigrants cluster round him. Heads are bowed and hearts uplifted while the captain conducts a short service, concluding with extempore prayer. Are not these the "deeds that have won the Empire"? the memory of which should never die.

After spending a few hours on shore the immigrants returned to the vessel, where they spent the night. Next day they made preparations to build huts and pitched their tents. It was on Kangaroo Island that the first settlement was to be formed. Such were the instructions that the South Australian Company in London gave to Samuel Stephens. Shops were to be erected and cottages for shepherds and herdsmen were to be built. This proved to be a mistake, as farther on we shall see.

How did the immigrants spend their first Sunday in the new land? In his Journal Captain Morgan wrote:—"In the forenoon had prayers in the cabin, with a sermon from

Hebrews xiii., verse 5. In the afternoon instructed the children. In the evening we had service on the quarter-deck. . . . Read a sermon and exhorted the people. We commenced and ended with prayer and song. So concluded this day—the first Sunday in this port."

What a strange experience the first immigrants must have been! How very unreal! Were they awake or did they dream? Had they really left the Old Land? Were their loved ones the other side of the world—sixteen thousand miles away? What a sense of loneliness must have sometimes come over them! They had lived in a land of villages and towns—a land where myriads hurried through the streets. Here neither street, village, nor town could be seen. It was an empty land. No street since creation had been formed and no city built. Save the members of their own community and a few half-savage whalers and sealers, no white face was to be seen. They had been accustomed to the roar of traffic; here, save the chatter of the birds, the sigh of the wind, or the sough of the ocean, no sounds could be heard. The solitude at times must have been oppressive, the silence intense.

But amid the gloom there were gleams of sunshine. They were in a new world. Here there were strange fruits and flowers, and trees that did not shed their leaves. Here were peculiar insects and gaily dressed birds. The warble of the magpie made the heart glad, and the weird laugh of the jackass first caused alarm and then provoked a smile. They saw the wallaby hopping in the scrub, the emu running along with her chicks, and, peradventure, the well-conditioned wombat hurrying to his hole. The heart danced with delight at the sight of a sail. Ere long there was the joy of receiving a letter from "Home." How firmly the precious missive would be grasped. How quickly the recipient would hurry away. The hand would tremble and the heart beat fast as the fingers broke the seal. Ah! there was the old familiar handwriting, but changed. The letter was blotched and the writing blurred. Here and there was a stain. What did it mean? A tear—a soul's travail—the liquefied love of a father's or a mother's heart. How fast the immigrant's eye would fly over the words till the end was reached. The nerves were steadier now. The reader would begin again. This time the eye would linger over the sentences, while the soul listened with delight to the music of a familiar voice, and gazed in ecstasy upon a sweet

but intangible face. But duty calls. The log fire must be renewed and the kettle hung. The letter is folded up, only to be again and again unfolded and re-read. At night the immigrant dreams! Space is annihilated! He or she is in Old England now. The snow is falling. A little white-washed cottage appears in view. There is the garden in which the honeysuckle and jessamine grow. A dear old figure is standing at the gate. A wild blast comes sweeping by. The immigrant awakes. Ah! it was only a dream—a beautiful creation shattered by the scream of an excited parrot or the howling of the wind. The soul may have seen Old England, but the body is in a tent or reed hut on the shores of an Australian bay.

Shortly after the arrival of the *Duke of York* the *Lady Mary Pelham* dropped anchor in Nepean Bay. There were six passengers on board and twenty-three officers and men. She was soon followed by the *John Pirie*, laden with stores, carrying fourteen passengers and fourteen officers and men. All these vessels belonged to the South Australian Company: it was private enterprise that fitted them up and sent them out. No emigrant vessel dispatched by the Government Commissioners had yet arrived. The *Cygnet* was the first to set sail, followed by the *Rapid*, having on board the Surveyor-General, Colonel Light.

Every detail in relation to the pioneers is valuable, and will become increasingly so as the years go by. From letters of early immigrants we get glimpses of the first settlers and of their surroundings on Kangaroo Island. Not far from the beach, at Nepean Bay, we see several tents and rude huts. A few people are moving about the beach, some dressed in smock frocks and gaiters. A boat is being rowed from an emigrant vessel to the shore. Depth of water fails. The boat is of no further service. The passengers are either carried to the shore by the sailors or they wade through the surf. On the beach they are met by Samuel Stephens and conducted to his tent. Lunch is prepared. He then takes them to see the site on which his cottage is to be built. It is on a gentle slope. In the foreground there are native shrubs almost to the water's edge, and a fine view of the sea. Several Cashmere goats, imported by the South Australian Company, and under Samuel Stephens' charge, are browsing the herbage. Some poultry are busy examining the nature of the new country. Cattle and horses have not yet been introduced. Mr.

Stephens takes the party for a short walk in the bush. They come to a piece of land that has been cleared. What is it? A place of burial. Already there are two graves in it. What a lesson it teaches in human mortality. How soon the most recent and the smallest community needs a cemetery. As soon as we provide homes for the living we need a resting-place for the dead. The party walk back to the beach, gathering shells and sponges. Farewell words are spoken. The visitors once again take their seats in the boat. Samuel Stephens goes back to his tent, while the sailors pull for the vessel whose destination is Holdfast Bay.

From another letter we get a further picture of the settlement on Kangaroo Island at a later time. The writer says: "Before us were the hills, on the slope of which lies the town of Kingscote. These hills are covered entirely with wood, having from the sea the appearance of an impenetrable jungle, with here and there a group of dead trees rearing their gaunt and withered limbs above their fellows. A little patch had been cleared at the slope of one of the hills, and there stood a solitary white cottage, the property of Samuel Stephens. On the brow of the hill, looking down a steep precipice into the sea, were some half-dozen wooden huts of former immigrants. On the beach was the skeleton of a storehouse, then under erection, round which were four or five huts, built of bushes. In one of them they were performing Divine worship, the summons to attend which was given by means of a bell, hung up in a tree."

The bell hung up in a tree! It challenges our attention. The founders of our State, even in its rude beginnings, did not neglect the ordinances of religion. They worshipped God in a tabernacle made of boughs, and to notify their time for service they had their bell hung up in a tree.

There were two questions exercising the immigrants' minds. One was:—

Where will the City be Built?

Until this question was settled nothing definite could be done. It was one in which the people had no direct voice. Sole power was vested in Colonel Light. Writing to him the Commissioners said: "In entrusting you with the decision of this difficult question the Commissioners feel they cannot too much impress you with the importance of a duty on the judicious performance of which the prosperity of the colony



Cottages Built by the First Settlers on Kangaroo Island.

so greatly depends. They feel assured that you will enter upon the task with the most anxious desire to arrive at the best possible result; and, believing such a result will be most effectually secured by placing the whole responsibility of the decision in your hands, the Commissioners purposely avoid all minute instructions for your guidance, and desire that you will consider yourself at liberty to deviate even from the more general instructions given, if in the discharge of your duty new facts should arise which, in your opinion, justify so strong a measure. . . . When you have determined the site of the first town you will proceed to lay it out in accordance with the 'Regulations for the Preliminary Sales of Colonial Lands in this Country.' You will make the streets of ample width and arrange them with reference to the convenience of the inhabitants and the beauty and salubrity of the town; and you will make the necessary reserves for squares, public walks, and quays."

In the way of surveying the country and of fixing the city site nothing could be decided till Colonel Light came.

It was on August 19th, 1836, that the *Rapid*, with Colonel Light in command, rode into Nepean Bay. At once the Colonel set to work. Kangaroo Island as a suitable place for settlement was condemned. The land was poor. Port Lincoln could not be recommended. The waterway was not sufficiently safe. Much was to be said in favour of Holdfast Bay.[10] The Colonel's position was a most responsible one. It was not a temporary question that he had to settle, but one the effect of which was to continue for all time. It was not for the present generation, but for generations unborn, that he had to decide. Posterity must either applaud or condemn.

In fixing the site of the city several things had to be taken into consideration. So far as a mere basis on which to build is concerned, such could easily be found. It was not so easy to find a suitable port or a stream of water from which the inhabitants could drink. It was these difficulties that Colonel Light had to face. For some time he could find neither port nor suitable stream of water. After a careful examination of the coast, both of these difficulties were overcome. An arm of the sea running several miles inland was discovered, offering an admirable shelter for ships. Here

[10] So named by Colonel Light because the *Rapid* outrode a gale there. The Colonel found the anchorage good holding ground.

the Colonel decided to fix his port. Farther inland a fresh-water river, larger than any yet seen, had been found. On the banks of this stream—on the plain called by the natives Tandanya—he decided that the city should be built.

Four months had passed since Colonel Light had begun his work. During that time several immigrant ships had arrived. As Kangaroo Island had been condemned most of the passengers were landed at Holdfast Bay. On Christmas Day, 1836, there must have been at least three hundred settlers on South Australian soil.

To every community there must be a head. It seems to be a necessity of our nature that there should be some embodiment of law and order, and in every social organism there is something lacking until that necessity is met. It was so in the experience of the early settlers. The site for the city had been fixed, but the Governor had not yet arrived. How anxiously they looked for his advent.

WHEN WILL THE GOVERNOR COME?

would be an oft-repeated question. Frequently the eyes of the immigrants scanned the ocean. What was the reason of the delay? At length another sail hove in sight. It was the long-expected and anxiously-looked-for H.M.S. *Buffalo*. It had the Governor on board, the Resident Commissioner (James Hurtle Fisher), and the Colonial Chaplain (the Rev. Charles B. Howard). What excitement there must have been among the immigrants! What demonstrations of joy! Rush huts and tents would be vacated. Down the immigrants would run—young and old—to the water's edge. What a motley assemblage! The tall hat would be in evidence, and the smock frock and gaiters, too. The Governor and party would either have to submit to the orthodox style of transhipment—"pick-a-back"—or take off boots and socks, turn up the trousers, and wade through the water. The position may not have been a very dignified one, but necessity knows no law and is no respecter of persons. The Governor was received by the leading men of the small community. There was a preliminary meeting in the tent of Robert Gouger, Colonial Secretary. An adjournment was then made to a large gum-tree. Here the proclamation was read and the British flag unfurled. A Royal salute was fired! The air rang with hurrahs! A cold lunch, consisting chiefly of pork and a ham, was served up in a very primitive style. The Governor mounted a chair

and gave the first toast, "The King." This was received with "three times three." The National Anthem followed, the tune being started by Osmond Gilles, the Colonial Treasurer. So accustomed were the immigrants to a succession of Georges that they forgot for the time being that a William was now on the throne, so the first line was sung as of yore: —

"God save great George, our King."

Other toasts followed. "Rule Britannia" was sung. The immigrants, amid their wild and in some respects weird surroundings, were determined to do honour to the occasion, and the shades of evening brought to a close the most exciting day—save the day of their landing—that they had seen. (11)

But on that auspicious day—the birthday of a nation—there was shade as well as sunshine, there were heart-pangs as well as joys. At least one young mother who came out in the *Buffalo*, with a husband and two little children, almost lost heart and hope. While the proclamation was being read under the gum-tree on the shore of Holdfast Bay she sat on a box and wept. It was the day of her landing. Ere long she was to contribute another life to the little company of adventurers, and the thought of the unknown future—of the nakedness of the land as far as the advantages of civilization are concerned—must have filled her with dismay. There were no streets nor cities, wheatfields nor flower or fruit gardens; no storehouses nor factories, houses nor hospitals, waggons nor omnibuses. To the west of the gum-tree near which she sat there was the restless ocean murmuring and sobbing, with the *Buffalo*, the last tangible link that bound her to the land of her fathers, riding at anchor; to the north and the south were sandhills glistening in the fierce rays of the summer's sun; eastward there were plains covered with dry grass and sombre gums. Here and there some of the black-skinned natives could be seen. Amid such strange surroundings no wonder that the young mother fresh from the Old Country wept. Would they be able to secure the necessaries of life for their children? Would the enterprise in which they had embarked be a success or a failure? Would a town ever be laid out or a city built? Would they fall victims to the blacks? Would they ever again see the Old Land and loved ones left behind? Not the

(11) Two of the carronades of the old *Buffalo* are now on the seawall at Glenelg, near the spot where Governor Hindmarsh landed.

Old Land. Both husband and wife sleep in God's acre near an old church among the beautiful hills south of the City of Adelaide—a city which became to them a very substantial fact. They saw houses built and gardens planted, a large section of the country populated, and some years after they had been gathered to their fathers one of their little ones who came out in the *Buffalo* (grown to be an aged matron) contributed some material for this historical record.

No source of information respecting bygone times is so charming, frank, and realistic as letters. Fortunately some of the letters of the pioneers have been preserved. We quote one written by a young lady who came out with Governor Hindmarsh in the *Buffalo*: "We arrived in Holdfast Bay early on the morning of December 28th, 1836. After searching a short time we descried a flagstaff which had been erected near the shore by those already there. A boat was instantly lowered and sent on shore, and returned with Mr. Gouger (the Colonial Secretary) and some of the gentlemen. After some consultation it was agreed that the proclamation should be read, for which purpose it was necessary that all the officers belonging to the colony should go on shore, and it was also determined that the ladies should accompany them. We left the *Buffalo* at 1 o'clock, and upon our arrival on the shore we were met by some of the ladies and gentlemen already there. We first proceeded to the Colonial Secretary's hut. The ladies adjourned to another hut belonging to Mr. Brown, the emigration agent, and remained there until the Governor had taken the oath of allegiance. When that ceremony was over we again joined the gentlemen, and Mr. Stevenson, His Excellency's Secretary, read the proclamation aloud, after which a party of the marines fired a *feu de joie*, and we proceeded to where a cold collation had been prepared for us under a large gum-tree. Numerous speeches were made and healths drunk, after which I took a short stroll with some others, in consequence of which we missed the boat, so that I was detained on shore long after dark, but, to tell you the truth, I was not sorry for it, for papa, James, Charles, and Fanny and several others were with us, and we were very hospitably entertained by a gentleman who had pitched his tent there, and enjoyed ourselves very much. This was the first time I trod in South Australia, and on this day was laid the foundations of a colony of which the most sanguine expectations have been formed, and which I sincerely trust will one day become the means of civilizing

a tract of country hitherto inhabited only by savages, and also in course of time of introducing Christianity into a country that has never yet acknowledged a Divine Creator."

The pioneer father (George Stevenson), who read the proclamation, wrote: "Nothing could be more delightful or promising than the aspect of the plains named by His Excellency 'Glenelg,' on which the Government was constituted. They are of great extent, as nearly as could be guessed 20 miles in length by about 8 in breadth. The soil appeared to be of the richest quality, and was pronounced equal, by those who had seen both, to the prairies of Ohio and Indiana. Numerous splendid trees of the eucalyptus (gums), the banksia in full flower, studded the plain. The lupin, buttercup, and several of the wild flowers of our own country were met with and hailed with delight. Parrots, parrakeets, and quail were seen in great variety. Everything indicated, in short, the wild profusion which Nature delights to throw over her most favoured spots, and few of the agriculturists present but hoped their lines would fall in such pleasant places. May South Australia flourish! was the prayer of every heart."

In the Governor's proclamation the spirit in which English people set about the work of colonization and the basis on which they build may be seen:--

> In announcing to the colonists of His Majesty's Province of South Australia the establishment of the Government, I hereby call upon them to conduct themselves on all occasions with order and quietness, duly to respect the laws, and by a course of industry and sobriety, by the practice of sound morality and a strict observance of the ordinances of religion, to prove themselves worthy to be the founders of a great and free colony.

The proclamation also stated that the Governor would take every lawful means to secure to the aborigines all the rights of British subjects.

After Colonel Light had fixed the site for the city there was considerable dispute. Some of the settlers wanted it in one place and some in another. Governor Hindmarsh was pleased with the surroundings, but thought that the city would be too far from the harbour. He wished it to be located two miles lower down the river; but here the winter torrents were found to overflow the banks of the Torrens. He expressed a preference for Encounter Bay. Fortunately Colonel Light's power in the matter was absolute. He

manfully stood his ground. Experience has demonstrated the wisdom of his choice. A more suitable site for the city (after more than sixty years' experience) it would be difficult to find. It was within easy reach of the sea, and was surrounded by good country, and on rising ground. There was fresh water in the Torrens, and the eastern hills formed a beautiful background. Some of the descendants of the pioneers may imagine that the city site and its environs were densely covered with scrub. Such was not the case. To the north the country was open. There were belts of gums lining watercourses. To the south the country was well wooded, in many places resembling an English Park. The primitive character of some of the southern country is expressed in the names that it still bears—Goodwood Park, Unley Park, Black Forest.

The same wisdom displayed in the choice of the city site was manifested in laying it out. The city lies four square. Provision was made for wide streets, public squares, and a park round the town. At the request of King William IV. it was called Adelaide, in honour of the Royal Consort.

It was under great difficulties that Colonel Light carried out his work. The means of transit were very defective. Horses were not procurable. The Surveyor-General and staff had to travel on foot. The men were poorly paid; "two-shillings-a-day-slaves" was the taunt thrown at them. As the new settlement was struggling into existence commissariat arrangements were very defective. No land had yet been ploughed. Immigrants were dependent for food upon outside sources. Not only were Colonel Light's men badly paid, but sometimes poorly fed. It cannot be a matter of surprise, then, that great dissatisfaction existed. Strikes were frequent and the work of survey retarded. Such was the demand for food in the nascent settlement that provisions intended for the survey party were dealt out to the immigrants as well. The consequence was the men ceased to work. The Surveyor-General was blamed for want of progress. Settlers were exasperated because surveys were not completed and they could not take up land. One sarcastically suggested that he might go home for a few years and still come back in time to select his farm. Well might Colonel Light say: "I began to feel a very evident change in my health, which, with anxieties of mind, wore me down much. I was obliged to neglect many days' working in consequence." His life in the colony soon came to a close.

It is not always possible to anticipate the future, and to be wise after the event is a very common experience. The founding of South Australia was an experiment. Of course, blunders were made. Looking back more than seventy years we imagine that we could have given our fathers many lessons in colonization. In some respects it would have been an advantage if Colonel Light and staff had preceded the immigrants. No doubt it would have saved time and trouble if the site of the city had been fixed and some of the country surveyed before an immigrant put foot upon South Australian soil. It was Robert Gouger's desire that something of this sort should be done: that two vessels should be sent out—the first to discharge cargo on the South Australian coast, and then to proceed to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) for food; the other vessel was to survey the coast of the proposed colony. When the most desirable site for the city had been ascertained, a third vessel was to sail from England filled with artisans and labourers to form roads and to prepare houses for the reception of the body of immigrants which was to follow. This arrangement was not carried out. But there is often a greater charm about that which is extempore than about that which is stiff, precise, and mechanical. If the site of the city had been fixed and some of the country surveyed before the arrival of the immigrants, then the founding of our Province would have been without much of its present charm. Where would have been the picturesque encampment at Holdfast Bay, of which we shall speak, and the primitive settlement on the banks of the Torrens? Where would have been the romantic experiences of the pioneers while they waited for the site of the city to be fixed and the land surveyed? It was a valuable discipline through which they passed. Let us be grateful that the very contingencies of life make possible the poetical and the heroic.

This seems to be the more appropriate place in which to give some reminiscences supplied by William Jacob. He was a sturdy old pioneer who lived long in the land of his adoption. He came out with Colonel Light in the *Rapid* in 1836 as an assistant-surveyor, and helped to lay out the City of Adelaide. When Colonel Light resigned his position under the South Australian Commissioners and took up private practice William Jacob entered into partnership with him. Speaking of the Colonel he said: "When Colonel Light showed us the site he had selected for the capital he was confident that it was the best possible one. He said to me:

'I never expect the present generation to approve of it; but posterity will do me justice.' And I may add here that after sixty-five years' experience I am not aware of a single instance in which Colonel Light's judgment is at fault. The survey of the city was commenced at the corner of North Terrace and West Terrace by Light, and I was employed at the eastern end. Shortly afterwards I joined Light in his office as draughtsman. While engaged in laying out the site for the capital some of the settlers at Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) who had come to inspect it told Light that grain would never grow on it. His reply was, 'We will not only grow grain, but all the products of Spain and Portugal.' Light sustained a severe loss when he had the whole of his papers destroyed. A fire originated in Mr. J. H. Fisher's reed hut and quickly spread to the Land Office, demolishing it and all its contents, including the papers of Light. I was sent to carry a keg of gunpowder to a place of safety, and on returning found Light fighting with the flames, and so exhausted that I had to take him away. He afterwards built a cottage for himself at Thebarton, where he owned No. 1 section. Few people know—or ever knew—why Colonel Light left the Survey Office. I may mention here that when Light left England the Commissioners told him he was to decide on the site for the capital. Light replied that adopting such a course might bring him into collision with the Governor. He was, however, assured that it would not, and the Commissioners intimated to Governor Hindmarsh that although Light would consult with him, still the final decision would rest with the Colonel. Light having selected the site for the capital commenced to lay out the country lands, when Mr. Kingston, the Deputy Surveyor-General, returned from England with a message from the Commissioners. This was directing Light to proceed with a running survey of the county of Adelaide, and instructing him how to conduct it. He was given a week in which to consider the matter. Light's reply was, 'I don't want five minutes to consider it; I won't do it.' He very properly took the stand that he would not be dictated to by the authorities. If he were not competent to undertake the work as he thought best he was not fit to do it at all. The upshot was that he resigned, and we sent in our resignations with him. A short time prior to his death Light met me at Gawler and said: 'Jacob, if you live an ordinary life you will see these plains enclosed.' Little did we dream that they would develop to what they are to-day and be connected with a railway. I may claim to have lived an ordinary life, but what has transpired has been

beyond my expectations. Light shortly afterwards died in his cottage at Thebarton. I was at his deathbed and at his funeral, and saw his body deposited where the monument now stands. I then turned my attention to pastoral pursuits." Mr. Jacob's station was at "Moorooroo," near Lyndoch Valley, where in the early days prominent pioneers often gathered round his table.

Associated with Colonel Light in his pioneer work were Lieutenants Pullen and Field, R.N. It was Lieutenant Pullen who surveyed Port Elliot. The "Goolwa" was first called Port Pullen, in honour of him. He returned to England and sailed in 1849 with one of the "Franklin Search Expeditions." In course of time he became an admiral, and died in the Old Country in 1887 at an advanced age. Lieutenant Field, R.N., was the first settler to enter the Port River. A few years later he was engaged in bringing flocks overland, and had some exciting encounters with the blacks, with which we shall have to deal. He died about 1842 at Yankalilla, and was buried in the churchyard at or near Willunga. It was this pioneer who introduced the orange-tree into South Australia.

With the proclamation of the colony, the choice of the city site, and the surveying of the same the foundations of the Province were well and truly laid. How the superstructure was reared we must leave for coming chapters.

THE BUILDERS' SOCIAL LIFE AND MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS.



The Primitive Settlement in Adelaide in 1837.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BUILDERS' SOCIAL LIFE AND MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS.

The foundations of the colony had been laid. Now came the work of raising the superstructure.

Of the present generation of South Australians it may be said, "Other men laboured, and ye have entered into their labours." In building up the Commonwealth it was under peculiar conditions that the pioneers had to work. Said one of the most worthy of them:—"Men generally laboured from early morning to dusky eve. Restless nights were frequent, and hard work by day caused us often to feel weary by the way." Yet there were compensations. As we shall see, there was a great deal of romance about these early days that is no longer possible. If colonists are more comfortable to-day their circumstances are more prosaic.

We saw that the first temporary settlement was at Kangaroo Island; the second at Holdfast Bay.

Here the immigrants dwelt in tents and in rude huts made of rushes and boughs. "Hutting" themselves was the term they used. Some for the first evening or two after their arrival had to sleep in the open air. They made for themselves beds among the bushes on the beach, just above high-water mark. One of the pioneers who had arrived on a Saturday in January, 1837, tells how himself, wife, and two children had to camp in the open air from Saturday night to Monday morning. They then set to work cutting down trees and covering them with bushes. In this way (as many others did) they constructed a temporary shelter. Robert Gouger, the Colonial Secretary, describes how he pitched his tent a little more than a mile from the beach, under the shade of some gums. We see him, under a blazing sun, transporting his goods from the beach to his tent in a small hand truck. Now he has to pull the truck through deep sand, and now over an uneven field, covered with grass. Three journeys from the tent to the beach is a good day's work. At night he retires to the vessel to sleep, wading nearly breast high to reach the boat that is to convey him to the vessel.

Near the tents and rush huts of the immigrants were the wigwams of some of the Adelaide tribe of natives.

The life was rough, but it was romantic. One is reminded of the Feast of Tabernacles, when the children of Israel dwelt in booths made of boughs. Gentle folk and simple folk, learned and illiterate, dwelt together as one family.

One of the pioneers (Mrs. Robert Thomas) has left on record a description as to how the immigrants spent their first Christmas far away from the "dear Old Land." In her diary she writes:—"December the 25th, 1836.—This being Christmas Day and Sunday, Divine service was held for the first time in the hut of the principal surveyor, a short distance from our tents. We attended, taking our seats with us; the signal for attending being the firing of a gun. The congregation numbered twenty-five persons, including the two gentlemen who conducted the service, the thermometer standing at 100 degrees, and most of those assembled being in the open air. . . . We kept up the old custom of Christmas as far as having a plum pudding for dinner was concerned, likewise a ham and parrot pie, but one of our neighbours, as we afterwards found, had a large piece of roast beef, though we were not aware at the time that any fresh meat was to be had in the colony."

Hereby hangs a tale. Where the roast beef came from was at first a mystery. It gives point to the old proverb: "It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good." It appears that the captain of the *Africaine* (one of the emigrant vessels) had a cow and calf on board. While the vessel was lying at anchor, for a change of scenery and food the cow and calf were transhipped to land. They were placed under the care of one of the immigrants. Unfortunately in one respect, and fortunately in another, the cow was tied to a tree not far from a lagoon. She got over the bank, fell in, and was hopelessly injured. She was killed, and in this way some of the immigrants were supplied with a little Christmas beef.

There is one sentence in Mrs. Thomas' diary that is very suggestive: they went to the rush hut of the principal surveyor for Divine service, "taking their seats with them." Comment is not necessary. Two laymen conducted the service because no minister of the Gospel had yet arrived.

From the letter of another lady pioneer we get a very good idea of the pioneer settlement at Holdfast Bay, the settlers, and their surroundings: "The beach is a very fine white sand, hard close to the water, and then rises to hillocks of deep loose sand, with shrubs growing in it. When we

had passed these little banks of sand, which do not extend above a quarter of a mile, we entered a fine open plain with beautiful trees scattered over it, looking very green, also some shrubs, although at the end of a hot summer. The stores and a few huts and tents are erected at the entrance to the plain, and we walked on about three-quarters of a mile to where many of the settlers had pitched their tents. It appeared like a beautiful park. Some of the trees were large and old. They were chiefly the sheaoak and tea-tree and gum, and several others we did not know. There were wild strawberries, raspberries, and a sort of cranberry. The kangaroos are scarce, and some have been sold at 1s. ℔. We saw flocks of green and crimson parrots. They were plentiful and very good eating; also the bronze-winged pigeon; cockatoos—black and crimson and white and yellow. The natives eat rats, snakes, or anything they can find. They will come to shake hands very friendly. They ask for biscuit, and say 'good night,' which they know to be a sort of salutation, so say it any time. There was a woman buried last night who came in the *Coromandel.*[12] A party of natives attended and seemed very much affected, putting up their hands; and an old man whom they called Ginykin—their chief, we think—wept. They are very superstitious and very idle, lying under a tree all day; but in the evening they have a dance, or merry-making they call a 'corroboree.' One of the first things we noticed on entering the settlement was the truly English custom; I mean several printed bills—one a caution, the other a reward. The caution was a high fine on any person giving spirits or wine to the blacks; the reward was £5 for the discovery of a person who had already transgressed the orders. There were several others posted about on the gum-trees. . . . We all rose early, with parrots chirping over our heads, and breakfasted with Mrs. Brown. The coffee mill is nailed to a tree outside the tent and the roaster stands close by the side. The fire for cooking is on the ground near by. The fresh branches of gum-trees burn like dry wood; firing will cost us nothing for years. Each family has erected a tent under a tree and dug a well by the side of it. . . . Water can be had for digging about 6 ft. all over the plains called Glenelg. The trees are generally from fifty to a few hundred feet apart, and mostly without any bush between."

The above are the first impressions of one of the early immigrants, who was evidently of a very observing turn of

[12] The name of the vessel still lingers in Coromandel Valley.

mind. The Mrs. Brown to whom she refers would be the wife of the Emigration Agent, whose duty it was "to receive the labouring immigrants upon their arrival, to enquire into their treatment during the voyage, to provide shelter for them and their baggage, to assist them in procuring employment, and to provide them with work until they had sufficient time to find masters and enter into engagements."

The romance was not all joyous. One of the first settlers complained of the fleas in the sandhills and the mosquitoes, no doubt attracted by the lagoons. Another complained of the centipedes. Within two yards of his tent five had been caught about 5 in. long. One night the occupier put his hand within an inch of a large scorpion. Ants were troublesome, and the ubiquitous rat had also made its appearance, and was making inroads on scanty stores.

It was with mingled feelings of hope and fear that the early immigrants approached the new land. We gather this from the MS. journal of Pastor Finlayson. He was a fine old man—a splendid specimen of a pioneer. The colony had been founded only about a year when he arrived. He tabernacled with us sixty years. It was in 1837 that the *John Renwick*, in which he sailed from the Old Country, came gliding along the South Australian coast. Said he: "The Mount Lofty Range beyond was beautiful, and as a Scotsman I was truly glad that the country had hills. Their appearance was parched and white, it being now the end of summer and the grass dry, but they were bold in outline and were a striking figure in the landscape. We were truly glad to get to the termination of our voyage, but after dark a grand and (to us) mysterious fire began to kindle on the hills, which alarmed us not a little. It spread with amazing rapidity from one hill to another until the whole range before us seemed one mass of flame. We looked at each other, and the knowing ones shook their heads and declared that it was a signal for the native clans to gather for the purpose of destroying the white intruders. They even pointed to what they in their terror took to be native forms adding to and spreading the flame. It was, indeed, a grand and a fearful sight, and many sat on deck watching all night long, expecting to see bands of naked savages coming down upon us. The new settlers soon learned that at the end of the summer the poor natives were in the habit of firing the grass that they might secure reptiles and animals for food. The incident above recorded, however, filled many with a lasting dread of aboriginals, and for the first few months the whole settlement

of Adelaide kept watch and ward against a "black attack," which never came. [13] The fear of an assault was not an unreasonable one, as the new arrivals did not know what enemies dwelt beyond the hills, but the natives soon lost whatever warlike spirit they may at first have possessed, and cringed and whined in unmanly fashion."

After the site for the city had been fixed a move was made from the temporary settlement on the coast to the environs of the prospective town. There were neither roads nor conveyances. The immigrants had to walk through the bush to the city site (a distance of about seven miles) and transport their possessions as best they could. Some were fortunate enough to secure the services of a small hand-cart. One of our pioneers who rose to distinction in the State had his goods transported in a wheelbarrow from the seaboard to the site on which the city was to be built. Others had to carry their goods in their arms. To many it must have been an anxious time, and need we be surprised if some looked back with aching hearts to the little cottage or flower garden that had been theirs in the dear Old Land? But regrets were unavailing. Retreat (even if desired) was impossible. The ocean had been crossed; the momentous step had been taken; "for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer" they were committed to a great and hazardous enterprise.

The salient features of this primitive pilgrimage rise before us. Seven miles have to be traversed between Holdfast Bay and the Torrens banks. The country is covered with timber and the weather is hot. We see flushed faces and perspiring brows; we hear the cry of little children and the welcome joke of the man of buoyant spirit who, like Mark Tapley, can be happy under any circumstances. We see parents with their arms full of utensils, and little ones, footsore and weary, clinging to their mother's skirts. Here and there an elder brother or sister is carrying a little one pick-a-back.

The experiences of some of the pioneer pilgrims were amusing. One thought that he could do the journey better bootless, but experience taught him a lesson which he effectually learned. Pastor Finlayson tells how he filled a cask with articles and rolled it from the seaboard to where Hindmarsh now stands, some four or five miles. The experiment was not a success. Among the articles there was a

[13] There were two things which filled our pilgrim fathers and mothers with fear—the blacks and the serpents, some of the latter being of a deadly type.

smoothing iron, and in rolling the cask the iron did considerable damage. To make his misfortune complete the head of the cask came out and his goods were scattered.

The land on which the city was to be built not yet being available, another temporary encampment was formed. The locality was the banks of the Torrens, between what is now called North Terrace and the river.

A description of the Torrens in 1836 may not be uninteresting. Its banks were covered with trees and undergrowth. In the bed of the river were tea-tree and reeds. In summer the river itself consisted of a number of holes full of clear water, connected with one another by a tiny stream. It was on this streak of water that would not carry a blackfellow's canoe in summer that some emigration agent in the Old Country had pictured a large ship riding at anchor. From Government Hut to below what is now the populous suburb of Hindmarsh gum-trees and shrubs lined the banks of the Torrens. Here was one of the pleasantest walks that the early immigrants could take. Walking down the riverside they could see innumerable parrots and flocks of white cockatoos. Occasionally a native might be seen climbing the trees searching for a large caterpillar, a most toothsome morsel of food.

The settlers had few of the advantages of civilization. There was neither slate, shingle, board, nor galvanized iron depot. Some of the huts were composed of mud and grass, covered with reeds; others were wooden frames on which canvas was stretched. "Government House"—the "vice-regal mansion," as it was sarcastically called—was a wattle and daub hut. In wet weather "hut wives" found it a difficult matter to keep the rain out. They had to resort to various expedients. Sometimes umbrellas were propped up to keep the goods dry.

Some of the emigrants, before leaving England, had made arrangements for a few small houses, ready made, to be shipped. They were to come by the *Tam o' Shanter*. Unfortunately, as the vessel was sailing from Kangaroo Island to what is known as Port Adelaide she struck a sand-bar and had to remain there for some time. Says one of the pioneers: "The sailors had to attend to the ship and we had to do as best we could. Some cut down a few light saplings and, putting them together as well as they were able, went down to the bed of the river and cut some grass with which to make a kind of wurley hut, into which we had to go and there spend the winter, improving the place a little as the

days went by. We were frequently obliged to fix up umbrellas, etc., to keep off the drenching rain, no other means being available at the time."

Another pioneer tells how he and his young wife found a lodging in a "natty little place." It was a shelter constructed of tea-trees and cloth, with the wife's black cloth cloak to curtain the doorway. It may have been a very good summer residence, but when the winter came and the "rain descended, and the floods came, and the wind blew" tea-tree and cloth were found wanting. The hut was flooded and the wife fell ill.

One who came to the colony in the early days and who published his reminiscences at "Home" thus describes the temporary settlement on the banks of the Torrens: "The huts were scattered about without any attempt at regularity or uniformity. Every man had built his house on the spot where whim and choice pointed out, or where material was easiest got; the consequence was that a collection of as primitive-looking wigwams as can well be imagined soon lined the banks of the Torrens—some of them facing the east, some the west; in fact, every point of the compass might have claimed one or more facing it. They stood just as though a mad bull had been playing his antics among them and had tossed them hither and thither. Nor was the appearance of the dwellings less amusing or extraordinary than their general position. Most of them possessed an aperture to afford egress and ingress; but few, if any, could boast of a window of any kind. A fireplace was not deemed essential, though several had an opening at one end, surmounted by an empty pork cask, deprived of the ends, to serve as a chimney. A great portion of the immigrants, however, contented themselves without a fire, except outside, where it might be seen blazing with a pot hung over it *'a la* gypsy.' It was not an unusual thing in hot or showery weather to see a lady watching the kettle or camp oven under an umbrella."

John Ottaway, whose experiences were published in *The Register* in 1908, said:—"We had, like all other pioneers, to rough it; but we were none the worse for that. It made us self-reliant, and little boys had to be miniature men. I distinctly remember our first home—a miserable shanty, indeed; no fireplace, and a mud floor. The cooking was done in the open until my father took the liberty of cutting an opening in the wooden wall and building an outside chimney and fireplace of turf. On the top of the chimney a sort of funnel of bark was erected to create a better draught, and

so we were enabled to indulge in the luxury of a warm fire. Our roof was none of the best, but mother was equal to the occasion, when the leaky places admitted the rain, by placing tin plates and dishes in position on the bed to catch the drops as they came. We got our drinking water from the Torrens, three-quarters of a mile distant. We had no Happy Valley service in those days, nor were there any electric lights. We were fortunate if we had a sufficiency of tallow candles."

These privations (as the old pioneer above mentioned affirmed) were not without their advantages. They developed thrift, determination, self-reliance. The early settlers did not "run to the Government" when they wanted a bed or a new broom. Tradition says that there was a time when the Government Treasury contained but eighteenpence.

The fugitive settlement on the banks of the Torrens in 1837 must have been picturesque, every kind of material, from reeds to ticking and cloth of all colours, being used for the sides of the temporary dwellings. Here and there in the encampment that we have described there was some little attempt at order. It was only natural that immigrants who came out in the same ship would desire to pitch their tents or to build their huts together, so in the settlement on the banks of the Torrens there was a "Buffalo Row" and a "Coromandel Row." Evidently the immigrants who had come by the *Buffalo* and the *Coromandel* had pitched their tents or built their houses in a line together. "Buffalo Row" stood near the Adelaide Gaol, "Coromandel Row" a little eastward. It consisted of a few wooden cottages brought out in the *Navarina*.

"Emigration Square" came later on the scene. Originally it was called "Forbes' Square." It was on the West Parklands, not far distant from where the Observatory now stands. This is a historic spot that must not be lost sight of. Here a depot for immigrants had been formed. An old lady who, as a buxom lass, came out in 1838 with Governor Gawler described to me her experiences. The vessel dropped anchor in Holdfast Bay. They were conveyed to the beach in boats as far as depth of water would allow, and then were carried to the shore by the sailors. They travelled to Adelaide in a bullock dray. The dray stopped at Emigration Square. She spoke of the sense of humiliation she experienced, thinking that perhaps they might be located there. "It was like going to the Union." However, her fears were groundless. The oxen moved on to North Adelaide, where the new arrivals found refuge in a pisé house.

The depot at Emigration Square was certainly not a desirable place. Said one of the immigrants: "How very inferior to what was promised at Home are the comforts and attentions bestowed upon the newly-landed immigrant. Brought from the discomforts of shipboard, he is lodged in a square of not exceeding 10 ft., exposed to wind, heat, cold, in all their dangerous changes. And often into the same small square are crammed two families, destroying morality and causing misery and death. It is necessary that the authorities should go around that Augean stable, Emigration Square, and regulate the occupancies."

Notwithstanding many discomforts there was much that was enjoyable about these far-off times. Everything was new. There was no snobbery. The settlers led a free, unconventional kind of life. Servants were difficult to get. Those who came out soon got married. Ladies had to do what is termed menial work. A pork barrel, end up, or a packing-case served as a table; boxes and trunks did duty as seats: rushes made a comfortable bed. Tin pannikins were used for tea. Ship's biscuit and salt pork was the staple food. Sometimes there was a welcome variety in the form of wallaby or native birds. Even baked snake and lizards were indulged in. Of vegetables and fruits there were few. Some of the immigrants pickled the leaves of the mesembryanthemum, or "pig's-face," as the plant in South Australia is commonly called. The settlers had their social gatherings in tents and in huts.

The red-letter days were the days when a letter was received from Home or an emigrant vessel came in. After a short time the "first-comers" were amused by seeing "new chums" marching up to the settlement with guns over their shoulders and pistols in their belts. Said one of the lady pioneers: "The few people here were like a happy family out for a lengthened picnic. . . . No person arriving now can form any idea of the life of the early settlers. It was sometimes very hard to forget all that we had left in the Old Country, and particularly friends, and to determine to make the best of our surroundings; but all managed to put up with the roughness and be contented. Happily there was scarcely any sickness in the population. No false shame troubled us. If friends came in they were welcome. We might be ironing, cooking, or working at any menial occupation, and it made the occupation pleasanter to have a friend to chat to. The first wedding I attended was in winter. It being too muddy to walk, we went in a bullock dray. No one appeared to fear

for the future, although, of course, no one could anticipate what the future might bring forth."

It must indeed have been "hard," as this lady pioneer affirms, to forget the dear associations of Old England and "to determine to make the best of their surroundings." The "surroundings" at first sight were not at all reassuring. "We managed, somehow," said one of the early comers, "to scramble into a ship's boat, which was propelled towards the beach, and while the men waded, the women and children were carried ashore by the sailors. It seemed lonesome and strange in a land with no friendly hand to greet and welcome us. When we landed a few friendly natives appeared. Unattractive they certainly were, bedaubed with red and white paint, and dirty matted hair. Nor did they exhale the odours of Araby."

Another of our pioneers who, as a young woman, came to the colony in 1836, writing to a friend in England in 1837 said: "You would smile if you were to see the way in which we get on. We have two cups and saucers, which have been lent to us, and six plates, two spoons, and everything else in proportion. I flatter myself we shall make as good colonists as anyone here, for we can all do a little of everything, and are all willing and united, and can be happy with a little; although I shall certainly be glad when we get a little more settled, for at present it is not very comfortable. But you must not think that we are dissatisfied, for we are quite the reverse. We have had two cocks and hens given to us to begin our little farm with, and also a goose and gander, the latter two by the captain of the *Coromandel*. I feel as much at home here as if I had been here for years, and so independent. It is really quite delightful. . . . It is very picturesque here to see the different tents pitched about and the rush huts. I really think we ought to be thankful to the Almighty who has brought us thus far in safety, and who has conducted us to a land which answers everybody's expectations, and the soil of which is delightful; and we ought to demonstrate our gratitude to Him in making the best of everything, being cheerful and contented, assisting one another, and dwelling together in unity, peace, and concord. That such may be the case is my earnest prayer."

If the first immigrants were without many of the comforts and conveniences of life, and were surrounded by difficulties and dangers, they had a newspaper. It speaks well for the energy and enterprise of our pilgrim fathers that before they left the Old Land a paper was published in their

interests. It was called *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*. The proprietor was Robert Thomas, a pioneer of whom Sir George Grey said: "He was a fine example of the earnest, able, energetic pioneer colonist: a man of great natural ability and singular force of character." He came out by the *Africaine* in 1836. Robert Thomas was one of the deputation to receive Governor Hindmarsh when he landed at Holdfast Bay. Having brought a printing plant with him, Mr. Thomas "set up" and printed the proclamation of the colony. At this time both press and type were on the beach at Holdfast Bay. A rush hut was soon erected, and this did duty as a printing office till the site for the city was fixed. Robert Thomas then removed his plant to a town acre. This was in Hindley Street, a little to the west of Morphett Street.

The second copy of *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* was published in 1837. One of the striking features about the paper was its independent and outspoken character. Provisions in the primitive settlement were scarce. To meet the wants of immigrants ten bullocks had been imported from the Cape of Good Hope. Ugly rumours were afloat. It was said that a Government official had allowed his two sons to have the pick out of the ten. It was also said that three other officials had been allowed to take their choice before the beef was made available for the settlers. One of the pilgrim fathers wrote to *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* to know what foundation there was for these rumours. Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth! The official under criticism lost his temper and informed the editor that "he might find a more useful and interesting way of filling his columns than by criticizing the actions of individuals." The editorial reply was:—"As we did not come to South Australia to be schooled in the management of a newspaper, we trust he will pardon us if we continue the course that we have marked out for ourselves as the part befitting honest and independent journalists." Ere long there was strife in the little community. Some of the officials were so exasperated by editorial criticisms that a handbill was printed and circulated among the immigrants urging the establishment of another newspaper. In the opinion of these gentlemen *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* had "eminently failed." The rejoinder of the editor was: "We continue doggedly in our resolution to set our faces against all systems and degrees of jobbery, against puffing individuals, or recording flummery speeches and trashy

compliments. We are as determined as ever to expose humbug wherever we find it: to keep a sharp lookout after the doings of every jack-in-the-office: to give the colonists the guarantee of publicity in all matters: to protest against all secret transaction of public business; to speak the truth, in short, and shame the devil." Ere long there was a libel case in the little colony—a Government official *v.* the proprietor of *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*.

After the settlers had been about eight months in the new land there came the intelligence of the death of King William IV. and the accession of Queen Victoria. Governor Hindmarsh, with the members of the Council, Magistrates, and many of the immigrants, assembled in front of Government Hut. After a reference to the death of King William the Royal proclamation was read and an address was forwarded to the youthful Queen.

Judging from some of the letters written Home by the pioneers the majority seemed to be quite satisfied with their lot.

Writing from his tent at Holdfast Bay, before Adelaide existed, John Brown, one of our worthy pioneers, after whom Brown Street is named, said: "The more we see of the colony the more our impressions in its favour are confirmed. There is abundance of good land everywhere, and the great drawback in other settlements—the expense of clearing the ground—does not exist. Many thousand acres are fit at once for the plough, and with a soil that will produce anything. I have dug for water close to my tent and found 2 ft. of rich black earth."

Dr. Everard, who came out the year the colony was proclaimed, and who sat in the First Parliament, in a letter to a sister in England said: "We stayed four days at Kangaroo Island and then proceeded to that spot which our chief surveyor indicated as the place probably of our settlement. On the 9th of November we landed at Holdfast Bay and pitched our tent about a mile from the beach, near some fine ponds of fresh water abounding with wild duck. You must understand, we were the first settlers: those who had preceded us were the surveyors and their people, and some of the South Australian Company, who founded the settlement at Kangaroo Island, where they had been about four months when we arrived. . . . After a very long delay the site of the chief town was fixed, and we have been upon our town land about a month. It certainly is admirably chosen, and must eventually become a very prosperous city.

It is situated upon two gentle slopes, with a river between of excellent water. Beautiful grassy plains surround it, with a sufficiency of timber to make it look well. . . . It is 7 miles from the harbour, which is called Port Adelaide, but a canal is contemplated of 6 miles in length, which will bring merchandise from the Port to the city. I do not expect we shall get our country sections for twelve months, we have such a paucity of good surveyors. The *Rapid* goes to England for the purpose of bringing some. Before my paper is filled I should like to tell you that this country, soil, and climate excel my most sanguine expectations, and that I would not return to live in England on any account. This is near our shortest day, and the days are like English summer. The greatest heat of summer has been 110 in the shade, but very endurable."

Another settler who came out in 1836 wrote as follows:—"The town of Adelaide is on the eastern side of the Gulf of St. Vincent. It is situated on a plain of great extent and fertility—well timbered and watered. The hills are covered with a species of wood called stringybark, and of as much use and as easy to work as American pine. There are hundreds of thousands of acres of this timber, plenty of it within 7 or 8 miles of the town. If we had 20,000 emigrants every year for the next century there would be enough for all. Vegetables of all kinds thrive delightfully. In a few days the time for planting maize, or Indian corn, will arrive, and great success is expected in that cultivation. There is on the plain of which Adelaide is the centre food for 50,000 head of cattle, ten times that number of sheep. I have seen mutton exhibited at the butchers' which would not have disgraced Leadenhall Market. Pigs and poultry thrive better than I ever saw them in the richest districts of Yorkshire or Westphalia. On our first settlement here we had a number of the dingo or Australian wild dog prowling about. In a year or two it is likely that we shall get rid of the animal. The kangaroo is in great abundance, and can be purchased at from 9d. to 1s. per lb. The black swan and wild duck in great variety; quail, plover, cockatoos, and parrots abound. The harbour and gulf swarm with fish. Fresh beef, 1s. per lb. for best joints; mutton the same. Carpenters and sawyers get from 9s. 6d. to 10s. per day. Any man with a hundred ewes might realize an ample fortune on our unlimited ranges of healthy sheepwalk in five years. The industrious farmer should turn his atten-

tion to South Australia. Let him purchase a hundred acres of land, bring his ploughs and spade, and two or three active sons, with £200 cash. He cannot fail to double his property within two years from the day he lands. We recommend emigrants who wish to live in a fine country, where there is elbow room, and where industry is sure to be rewarded, to lose no time in shipping themselves and their children to South Australia. We want no idlers—no drunkards—but steady, sober men, not ashamed to live by the sweat of their brow."

No wonder that there was a fascination for English folk about letters like these, especially when they were garnished, as they sometimes were, with references to blackfellows, kangaroos, and emus.

Though there was much to interest in the new land, some of the settlers could not forget the old. One of them gave vent to his feelings in song:—

Thou art very fair, my adopted land,
With thy dome of cloudless blue;
And I have found on thy distant strand
Hearts that were warm and true;
But I love thee not with the feelings deep
That I love the Isle where my fathers sleep.

Thy birds, it is true, are of splendid wing,
With tints that are gorgeously bright,
But to most is denied the tuneful string
Which falls on the ear with delight
'Neath the shady oaks that wave in the west,
In the land far off—the Isle I love best.

Thou hast thy flowers of varying hue,
Which upward raise their tiny head;
But my heart yearns over the one that grew
In my childhood's small garden bed;
The lily of scarlet and gold bloomed there,
The unrivalled queen of my own parterre.

All the letters were not of the joyous character of those quoted. One of the early settlers wrote Home as follows:—

"Dear and Respected Friend—We landed in Holdfast Bay on March 24. I have not been able to get a job, nor any hope of any. I am reduced to great distress, provisions being enormously high—bread, 3s. a loaf; potatoes, 3s. 6d. a gallon; beef and mutton, 1s. per lb.; butter, 3s. 6d. per lb.; cheese, 2s. per lb.; porter, 1s. 6d. a quart. I have conversed with several who came out in the first ship, and they assure me that everything they have attempted has turned out a failure. How can anything grow in dust and sand and eternal

drought? There is not a river in the colony. Rents are twelve times as high as in England. A hovel in which you would not put a good horse, £1 a week. Still, many persons say they are doing well; but there is no bottom in the whole affair, and it is a cruel deception practised on the people of England. A cabin passenger of mine shot himself three weeks after his arrival."

This is part of a signed letter which appeared in a Glasgow paper. Unfortunately for the writer the editor of *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* saw the letter, and the writer was glad to publicly qualify his statements.

The editor of the London *Times* seemed to be constantly on the lookout for communications to the discredit of the colony. Some doleful letters appeared in the columns of *The Times* in 1840. One writer complained that the climate was not as healthy as had been reported. He had seen four or five funerals go to the cemetery every day, and a person was rarely to be seen more than fifty years of age. This scribe must surely have known that one of the stipulations in the colonization of South Australia was that emigrants had to be under thirty. [14] He complained of "Emigration Square." It was remarkable for its mortality. It was no uncommon occurrence for seven or eight persons to die in the course of a week. The weather had been very hot, the thermometer being 102 or 112 degrees in the shade. The wind was exceedingly high, and the dust raised by it penetrated every crevice. The River Torrens had become so small that a 4-in. pipe would carry more water. The water was so full of animalcula that in the hot weather it had to be used immediately. Fleas were a grievous nuisance; they were supposed to breed in the dust and to be carried into the houses in swarms whenever there was a gale of wind. Another nuisance was a troublesome blowfly. The hot weather dried the bread to such an extent that only when new could it be eaten. The beef never got tender, and vast quantities were thrown away because uneatable. If a sheep were killed it had to be cut up and eaten while still warm.

This critic, whose contribution was honoured by a place in the London *Times*, must have arrived at the age when the grasshopper was a burden. If all the pioneers had been

[14] In the census papers for 1844 only eighteen persons were returned who were over sixty years of age, and this in a population of more than 17,000.

such as he, where would have been our flourishing colony to-day?

There was another letter to which the editor of *The Times* drew special attention. It was headed, "Miserable Condition of Australian Emigrants." Said the editor: "It shows the wretched condition of those unhappy creatures to whom this land of promise has been so niggardly in its performance." "It is quite distressing," said the writer of the letter, "to look round and see so many once respectable and wealthy young men with hardly a coat to put on, driving bullocks, attending masons. They left their homes young, bringing with them all they had in the world. Some lost one way, some another." The writer went on to affirm that the botanist had given up all hope of the colony. He had given his opinion that it was quite impossible to bring any European plant to perfection in South Australia. The potatoes were very bad. Corn, wheat, and barley would perhaps do very well for the first one or two months, then the north winds, dust, and insects ruined them. There was plenty of money to be made, but every man was "snapping" for himself, to get away from the place as soon as possible. The most profitable business was keeping a boarding-house. Ten pounds in England would go as far as fifty in South Australia. The town was a strange one; just a wood, with a small house here and there in it. There were all sorts of people in Adelaide, from the Irishman to the African, and plenty of fleas and mosquitoes. "I suppose," said the writer, "you are getting very favourable reports from some of the old inhabitants, who wish to invite their friends to come to this fairy isle, where in summer time you can scarcely get a drink of good water, with a burning sun all day long, the north wind as hot as fire, blowing the sand in clouds enough to stifle you and to burn the eyes out of your head."

These criticisms remind me of a passage in Pastor Finlayson's MS. journal. After referring to the Arcadian conditions of life when the first settlers landed, he says: "After a time things began to lose their extremely primitive form. The newcomers grumbled that they found matters so far behind. They grumbled about the huts they had to put up with, and the living also: finding fault with everything. What pleased us who had passed through the hardship of the first settlement they looked upon with contempt. . . . The romance had been mainly confined to the eight months, when all were in a great measure on a struggling level."

A lady coming up from Port Adelaide in 1840 was complaining of the high price of commodities in the new settlement. A gentleman began to question her as to the evils of which she complained. "My good woman, what price do you pay for meat?" "Oh, sir, it's verra dear. We pay about 10d. a pund for't." "And what would you pay for such meat in Glasgow?" "Oh, we wadna pay mair than 5d." "What wages had your husband in Glasgow?" "He used to get twa-and-twenty shillings a week." "And pray, how much does he make here?" "Oh, sir, he disna mak aboon 13s. a day just noo" (£3 18s. a week).

On July 23rd, 1837, the pioneers had a weird experience. It was on a Sunday morning. There was a loud rumbling noise that lasted twenty seconds. The earth shook and trembled. It was an earthquake. The pilgrim fathers were alarmed. Were all their bright hopes to be shattered? Had they come to a land of volcanoes and earthquakes. The natives were interviewed and questioned about the occurrence. Fortunately they could remember only two similar shocks many years before.

A gala day in the experience of some of the early settlers was the first anniversary of the colony. About four o'clock in the afternoon of December 28th, 1837, several of the pioneers assembled at the court-house and received Governor Hindmarsh in a most cordial manner. The chair was taken by the Acting Judge (Henry Jickling).[15] A dinner of "four courses and dessert" was served up by Host Lee, of the Southern Cross Hotel. Several toasts were proposed; among others, "The Health of Governor Hindmarsh." In responding the Governor said: "He attributed much of the cordiality of the day to the circumstance which he was sure they believed, and which one day or another would, in spite of misrepresentation, be the undisputed fact, namely, that he laboured for the best interest of the Province without any selfish view whatever. In his situation as Governor he had duties to perform to Her Majesty and to the colonists,

[15] Henry Jickling (Barrister) was a quaint character. He wore shoes, white stockings, and a peculiar cloak. In addition, he was very near-sighted and had a springy walk. Many were the jokes manufactured at his expense. He was as funny as the name sounds. He became Master of the Supreme Court, and with the late Sir Richard D. Hanson examined our present worthy Chief Justice (the Right Hon. Sir Samuel Way, Bart.) when he was admitted to the Bar. Some time after 1861 Henry Jickling left South Australia and returned to the Old Country.

and he strove to do both to the best of his judgment. The dissensions which had unhappily arisen he trusted would be transitory; at all events, they would not affect the progress of the settlement of our adopted country." "Three times three" were frequently indulged in and, according to an old print, "many excellent speeches were made."

"Coming events cast their shadows before." Some of the shadows are ominous. It was so in the experience of the pioneers. The Governor's speech at the first anniversary of the colony was very suggestive. He spoke of "dissensions that had unhappily arisen." What these were other chapters will reveal.

EXAMINING THE COUNTRY.



A View of the Centre of Kangaroo Island, showing Dwarf Scrub.
From "A Cruise in the Steamer *Musgrave*," by Thomas Gill, Esq., I.S.O.

CHAPTER VII.

EXAMINING THE COUNTRY.

Some of the readers may remember times in their younger days when (to use a colloquial expression) they "moved." The old home was broken up; the locality in which they had spent some happy years was forsaken; and a new home was formed amid strange surroundings. How intense the excitement! How keen the anticipation! There was the packing of goods; the farewell to friends; the journey to the new habitation; the arrival. How eager the young people were to hurry through the new rooms, to rush out into the garden, to see what the neighbourhood was like, and to take in as soon as possible the whole situation. We are all children of a larger growth, and it was exactly so in the experience of the early immigrants.

As we shall see, some were too eager—too anxious—and had to pay the penalty by the loss of their lives. All the pioneer vessels called at Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, where the first batch of settlers had been located. This was a *terra incognita*. No foot had ever trodden its tangled interior. The island was a veritable labyrinth, covered with forest and jungle.

A Foolish and Fatal Experiment.

The *Africaine* was one of the early arrivals. She had on board several of the pioneers whose names occur in these pages: Robert Gouger, the first Colonial Secretary; John Brown, the Immigration Agent; Dr. Everard, and Robert Thomas, founder of *The South Australian Register*. Before she reached Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, the vessel dropped anchor. Some of the immigrants on board were so anxious to see the new country that they asked permission from the captain to land and to walk over part of the island to Nepean Bay. They had no conception of the difficulty of the position. Captain Duff tried to dissuade them, but they were bent upon the enterprise. The captain then gave them permission to land. The party consisted of Dr. Slater and Messrs. Osborne, Nantes, Warren, Biggs, and Fisher, all young fellows. The captain supplied them with provisions

to last for two or three days. It was thought that in that time they would join their fellow-passengers at Nepean Bay.

They landed in the evening, about 7 o'clock, and slept the first night under a thick bush. The next day they commenced their journey, and found the way beset with difficulties. The country was rough, scrubby, and some of the bushes thorny. In addition to these troubles their water supply was soon exhausted. One of the survivors wrote: "We now began to think of the difficulty of our undertaking, more especially as we could not find any fresh water. We were all thirsty, and the sun excessively hot." They discovered a stagnant pool, from which they drank freely and at the time felt no ill effects. Unfortunately they altered their course a little and became involved in the tangles of the interior. The farther they went the more impenetrable the trees and brushwood became. They were obliged to chop their way with a hatchet. They now began to despair of finding their way out. To add to their troubles Mr. Osborne was taken ill, and declared that he could not walk any farther. He asked the party to go on and leave him behind, which they refused to do. Fortunately they found a spring of water and then lighted a fire, gave their sick comrade some stimulant, and covered him up. In about two hours he was able to go a few miles farther. They now began to steer in a south-westerly direction, and found abundance of water. The party had to pass through mud and marsh, and at times were chest-deep in water. All were tired out, especially the invalid. They had now been two days in the bush. The third day they pushed on, surrounded by difficulties. The food supply was exhausted, but they were able to shoot a cockatoo and some parrots. The fourth day was "starvation day"—no breakfast, no water. They continued pushing and forcing ther way until, overcome by exhaustion, they sat down and shared one parrot among them—one small bird among six persons!

Resuming their journey they struck the coast and travelled along it, hoping that they would not again have to take to the forest and jungle. In this they were disappointed. Their progress was impeded by a heavy surf, striking against immense cliffs of 400 or 500 ft. high. They had to take to the bush again, and struggled on about 15 miles. For a long time, with the exception of one seagull, which had been shot on the beach, they had been without food and water. Mr. Osborne was again taken ill. It was now proposed that the party should divide: that

Dr. Slater and Mr. Fisher should remain with Osborne. To this all could not agree. Osborne struggled on for a few miles farther, then both himself and Dr. Slater collapsed. They requested the remainder of the party to go on, and send them some assistance, should they be fortunate enough to find their way out of the maze. The others again pushed on. It was now six days since they had left the vessel. They shot two seagulls, and sucked their blood to quench their craving for water. The party lay down to rest, and saw a large venomous black snake crawl from underneath the weeds on which they were resting, but were too exhausted and dazed to trouble about such a trifle. On the ninth day, as some rain had fallen during the night, they sucked the drops of water from the trees. On the tenth day they were fortunate enough to reach the settlement at Nepean Bay, where they were nursed and cared for by Dr. Wright and Samuel Stephens.

A search was then made for Dr. Slater and Mr. Osborne. In a former chapter I spoke of some white buccaneers who, before the colonization of South Australia, had found their way to the coast of Kangaroo Island. With them were some natives. The services of these were sought, and four white men and two black women set out immediately, with a supply of provisions and water, to look for the lost men. They searched but could not find. The unfortunate Dr. Slater and Mr. Osborne perished somewhere in the wilds of Kangaroo Island, under the most distressing circumstances.

Discovery of the Torrens.

We must now leave Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, where the pilgrim fathers landed, and go to the primitive settlement at Holdfast Bay on the mainland. Here the majority of the immigrants had temporarily settled in tents and huts made of rushes, till the site for the city was fixed. The time was not wasted. Some of it was spent by the pioneer fathers in examining the country. They branched out in various directions. It was on one of these exploratory trips that Messrs. Field, George S. Kingston, and John Morphett discovered the stream of water now called the Torrens, on which the city of Adelaide is built.

A Trip with a Sad Ending.

Later on, after the site for the city had been fixed, Messrs. T. Bews Strangways and Hutchinson left the settle-

ment on the banks of the Torrens to explore the mouth of the Murray. They were joined by Sir John Jeffcott and Captain Blenkinsopp. The trip was an unfortunate one. Sir John had been appointed judge of the New Settlement by the authorities in England. In opposition to Colonel Light, he thought the city should be built at Encounter Bay. He wished to show that the mouth of the Murray was navigable, and thus remove an objection to the city being located at Encounter Bay. In his attempt to do so the boat was swamped, and both he and Captain Blenkinsopp were drowned. This was on December 12th, 1837. Sir John was one of the first immigrants and a member of the committee which named the streets and squares of Adelaide. Jeffcott Street, North Adelaide, is named after him.

Going Southward.

Robert Cock was an early immigrant. He came out with Governor Hindmarsh in the *Buffalo*, and did useful work in exploring the country in the vicinity of Adelaide. Before the colony was a year old he and a party left Adelaide to examine the country in a southerly direction. The character of the country through which they passed strongly appealed to him. We are not surprised at this. In the direction that Robert Cock took is to be seen some of the finest scenery in the world. "Never did eyes of man behold a lovelier country." Such was the entry made in his Journal.

On the first anniversary of the colony they discovered a fresh-water river. As it was the anniversary of the Governor's arrival in the New Settlement a volley was fired, three cheers were given, and the river was named the Hindmarsh, as a compliment to His Excellency. As the party moved on kangaroos were to be seen feeding in all directions. They passed a number of native huts, one of which was of very superior construction.

On Sunday, December 31st, 1837, the party reached Lake Alexandrina, where they "felt themselves amply repaid for all the fatigue they had suffered since leaving Adelaide."

Retracing their steps, on more than one occasion they had to call a halt so that they might "gaze with wonder and delight on the richness of the country." The party discovered a creek which they named the Angas, in "honour of the Chairman of the South Australian Company," who had taken such a deep interest in the founding of the Province.

The following year Mr. Cock explored a part of Yorke's Peninsula. Later on he landed at Port Vincent, and travelled across Yorke's Peninsula to Port Victoria.

Going Northward.

In November, 1838, the hearts of the immigrants were made glad by the discovery of another fresh-water river. T. Bews Strangways, [16] accompanied by a friend, traced the Torrens to its source, which they named "Davey's Punchbowl" after some English associations. Having found the source of the Torrens, they struck out in a northerly direction. After travelling about 8 miles there was a decided improvement in the country. The "grass was high and in great abundance," and "the blue and white gum-trees became more numerous." Before sunset the travellers "struck upon a fine river, running deep and strong, and containing about three times as much water as the Torrens." This river Mr. Strangways called the Gawler, in honour of His Excellency Governor Gawler, who had taken the place of Captain Hindmarsh as Governor of the Province.

The West Coast.

Although it is only during recent years that the west coast of South Australia has been really populated, it was one of the parts of the Province to be first examined and a portion of it settled. As early as 1839 Mr. C. C. Dutton, an enterprising pioneer, explored a considerable part of the west coast. He went from Port Lincoln to Coffin's Bay. Somewhere in its vicinity "a magnificent country opened up, the trees growing in clusters, interspersed about a rich park-like flat, in the centre of which there was a beautiful large lagoon covered with black swan." The party ascended a slight eminence, and a "still more beautiful country" stretched out before them, "studded with innumerable salt-water lagoons." Immense herds of kangaroos were quietly feeding on the flats. They climbed Hanson's Range, where they found large blocks of variegated marble, standing 6 or 7 ft. above the surface. From the top they had a fine view of the bay and the surrounding country. On the plain they saw a great many natives, who were intently watching their movements. Four natives approached who were soon on friendly terms with the party. They thought that the country through which they had passed, with its fine light soil, shaded with gum- and sheaoak-trees, was specially adapted for pastoral pursuits. Any quantity of cattle would find ex-

[16] For a time Colonial Secretary of the Province.

cellent feed in the valleys and water in abundance. One result of the expedition was that Mr. Dutton "was convinced that to the northward there was good country in the immediate neighbourhood of Port Lincoln for agricultural as well as for pastoral purposes, covered with abundance of fine sheaoak, which would split well for fencing." The surmise of this pioneer seventy years ago has been proved correct.

Mr. Dutton came to a sad end. In 1842 he attempted to come overland from Port Lincoln to Adelaide with four men and a mob of cattle. The whole party must have perished in the bush either from want of water or at the hands of the natives. Search parties were sent out, but the lost men were never found. The natives in these parts were very treacherous, and the pioneers who examined and opened up the country ran great risks. An early settler who had taken up a station not far from Port Lincoln went out one day to see his sheep. He left the hut in charge of a young man. He had not gone far before he was speared by some blacks who were hiding behind a tree. He fired at them, but they closed in upon him. He fought desperately for his life, but was overcome. The natives then went to the hut and speared the young hutkeeper. It has been said that the natives admitted many years after that Mr. Dutton and his party had been put to death.

Looking for an Overland Route to Port Lincoln.

Edward John Eyre was the first to try to discover an overland route from the settlement at Adelaide to Port Lincoln. This was about three years after the Province had been proclaimed. With a party of five he left Adelaide, having with him two horse teams, and provisions to last for nearly three months. They crossed the rivers named the Wakefield and the Hutt. [17] The party discovered another river, which Mr. Eyre named the Broughton. He examined the country for about 52 miles to the north of Spencer's Gulf and then decided to return. "Nowhere," said he, "could we see the least sign of grass or water. The hills before me were high, barren, and rocky. The whole was barren and arid-looking in the extreme, and as I gazed on the dismal scene before me I felt assured I had approached the vast and dreary desert of the interior; or, it

[17] So named after Edward Gibbon Wakefield and John Hutt (a member of the British House of Commons), men who had taken great interest in the founding of South Australia and rendered useful service.

might be, was verging on the confines of some inland water, whose sterile and desolate shores seemed to forbid the traveller's approach. As our riding horses were all nearly knocked up, and the nature of the country so dry and barren, I saw no hope of succeeding . . . in opening a line of road to Port Lincoln."

A few months later Mr. Eyre examined the country round Streaky, Smoky, and Denial Bays, on the West Coast. He was not at all favourably impressed. Samuel Stephens also rendered service in the same direction.

Professor Menge.

Among the early immigrants to South Australia there was one very remarkable man—a man of most eccentric character. Some account of him should certainly be handed down to posterity. Were all the circumstances of his life fully known they would furnish material for a most entertaining volume. "Professor Menge," as he was called, was South Australia's first mineralogist and geologist. It was to act in this capacity that he was sent out by the South Australian Company. He was born in Germany of poor parents. In early life he developed a taste for mineralogy. Young Menge travelled over a considerable part of the Continent of Europe and to countries more remote in pursuit of his hobby, and was engaged by scientific authorities in classifying minerals. He was a good linguist and also had a taste for music.

He came to the new Province before it was proclaimed—before the site for the city was fixed—and landed at Kangaroo Island. This was in 1836. He at once set to work examining the country. This was no easy task. As we have seen, Kangaroo Island was covered with forest and jungle, much of it being prickly bush. In his journeys Menge sometimes suffered from thirst and hunger, and on one occasion would probably have perished had it not been for a wallaby caught in a thicket. A gentleman who visited the Island and the South Australian Settlement in 1837, when Menge was still on the island, speaking of him, said: "This great scholar (for he is eminent as a linguist as well as a mineralogist) is the completest specimen of an eccentric student I ever knew. He is by birth a German. He lives on tobacco smoke and pancakes. A more perfect hermit could not be. His den (for it cannot be termed a hut) is underground, with the mound, or roof, just hummocked up above the level. On one side is his fireplace, where he may

be observed at daybreak and evening frying his cakes."

Professor Menge had the strange eccentricity of manner that is sometimes associated with genius. There was a disagreement between him and David McLaren (manager of the South Australian Company), and Menge severed his connection with the company. He left his "dug-out" on Kangaroo Island, crossed over to the mainland, and decided to travel through the bush to the settlement at Adelaide. This was a bold step, for the coastline at this time was peopled by powerful and sometimes treacherous savages. But Professor Menge was a man who had faith in an overruling Providence. He passed through vast numbers of aborigines in peace and safety. To secure the friendship of the blacks he would sometimes unstrap his wallet and take from it a small quantity of sugar, eat a little, and make signs to the natives that it was good. Some of the sugar would then be offered to them. In return they would give him fish, roots, or game. He had a strong constitution, and was very muscular. Professor Menge was known to have carried nearly a hundredweight of minerals on his back for 150 miles, subsisting largely on gum and roots. His prolonged absence from the primitive settlement at Adelaide (as he always travelled alone) sometimes caused alarm, but eventually he would turn up, and in response to chidings would say, "God is my protector." He explored and scientifically examined the country round Mount Lofty, Mount Barker, and the Onkaparinga and spoke highly of it. He traced the rivers Gawler and Para to their sources. In his excursions to the north from the Para he discovered several rivers, among others the Rhine. In a communication to the pioneer Press he stated that he was just about to trace the Rhine to its source, that the ranges which he had seen "abounded in metals," and "there were several places where the oligistous iron ore, near rivers, could serve for foundries, and supply the colony with vessels and bars of every kind without great expense." In his explorations Professor Menge travelled as far as the Flinders Range and spoke highly of its mineral wealth. In the young colony he discovered indications of gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron and found several precious stones. He collected scores of specimens, arranged and classified them, depositing them at Dr. Moorhouse's residence, North Terrace.

William Jacob, to whom reference was made in the previous chapter, had settled at "Moorooroo," near Lyndoch Valley. For some time Professor Menge lived near him

in a hut on what was called "Menge's Island," a piece of land isolated by the watercourses.

Edward Bate Scott, Eyre's friend and travelling companion, who continued with us to 1909, writing to me, said: "I was not intimately acquainted with Menge, but met him frequently and visited his solitary hut, which was situated at the junction of two creeks and west of the old 'Moorooroo House.' Round Menge's hut there were heaps of mineral specimens gathered from the Barossa Ranges, where at times he spent days and weeks with his chisel and hammer in search of minerals."

It is said that the life of this remarkable man, who, tradition says, could converse in German, French, English, Russian, Dutch, and Hebrew, came to an end in a wretched hut on the Bendigo Diggings, Victoria, in 1852. He died as he had lived—alone, without a friend to solace him or to see him through the dark valley.

An Excursion with a Tragic Ending.

There was a peculiar fascination about South Australian colonization. The country was so little known. Geologically it was hoary with age; historically it had all the charm of youth. It had been shrouded for ages. When the veil was lifted curiosity was awakened and intense interest aroused. In the peculiar physical features of the country, as well as in its remarkable fauna and flora, there was so much to challenge attention and to stir the soul. The pioneers were in a new world. It was the very antithesis of what they had been accustomed to in the Old Land.

Governor Gawler felt the magic influence of his new and strange environment. His was an eager and impetuous spirit. The active service that he had seen upon the field of battle had made him bold, daring, energetic, and resourceful. In the examination of the new country he took a prominent part. He was willing to run risks, to endure hardships, to make sacrifices so that the margin of settlement might be extended, and the unknown interior be revealed. One of his early enterprises was to set out with Captain Charles Sturt to find the more direct and practicable line of communication between Adelaide and Cape Jervis.

One of his exploratory trips had a tragic ending. In company with Captain Charles Sturt and Henry Inman (Commissioner of Police), Governor Gawler went on a visit to the north-west bend of the River Murray. He was accompanied by Master Henry Bryan, a young English gentleman

visiting at Government House. The party left the Murray and started out in a northerly direction to examine the country. Describing the expedition Governor Gawler said: "Observations have combined to make it probable that to the northward of this point, at a distance of not more than 150 miles, there is some remarkable tract of country hitherto unseen by Europeans. Although it is not a part of my duty to make geographical discoveries beyond the limit of the district really required for occupation, yet, being here in the way of duty, I thought it well to take the opportunity of riding for a few days to the northward to solve the question if it could be done with reasonable exertion." So the Governor and party set out upon their journey, with packhorses carrying provisions and water. Henry Bryan, anxious to have an active part in the expedition, asked that he might not only go with the party, but lead one of the packhorses. To this the Governor consented. The party came to a mountain as yet unseen by Europeans. The Governor named it Mount Bryan, in honour of his young friend; a name that it will bear as long as the British race inhabits the country. They were not far from the district now known as "The Burra." Halting for the night, the next morning they again went forward. There was a fascination about the journey, for they were passing over ground that foot of white man had never trodden. The weather was hot and oppressive. Governor Gawler was just thinking of retracing his steps when, in passing over a slight undulation, a range of mountains appeared in view. They were clothed with timber and, seen through the telescope, did not appear to be more than 20 miles distant. The party thought that such country must contain water, and attempted to reach it. They were deceived by mirage, and the distance proved to be too great. Unfortunately one of the casks leaked and the bung had escaped from another. Their water supply was gone. The horses were exhausted. They were about 60 miles from the camp. They saw smoke on Mount Bryan, which indicated the presence of natives and the existence of water. Arriving at Mount Bryan, they could discover neither. They found an extinguished fire and a ruined native hut, but no water. They then set out for the camp, but the horses were in an exhausted condition, having been two and a half days without water. The Governor and his party had been one day without water. Governor Gawler decided to hurry forward to the camp and bring back water to the party. Captain Sturt and Mr. Inman urged him to take

Henry Bryan with him in case of accident. This he did. When about 12 miles from the camp the Governor's horse was so exhausted that it would not go out of a walk. Bryan suggested that they should exchange horses so that the Governor could go on quickly and send help to the other members of the party, and leave him to ride into camp at a walk. This was done. In a famished condition the Governor reached the Murray. Captain Sturt and Mr. Inman also succeeded in doing so, having killed a horse and drank its blood to quench their thirst. But Henry Bryan came not. The Governor offered a reward of £50 for his discovery. Those who had remained at the camp went out as search parties. The services of an intelligent native were secured, the tracking powers of the blacks being simply marvellous. They came upon the tracks of Bryan's horse and followed them to a place where the rider had evidently dismounted and lain down under the exhausting effects of the heat. Evidently here he parted with his horse. There was a pencil note from him under the saddle, stating his intention of going south-south-east; his footsteps were traced for a few paces and then they became absolutely invisible. Boats went down the river. Parties crossed the bush in various directions. Fires were lit. Guns were fired. But all was in vain. Young Bryan must have become confused; lost his bearings; and, as Governor Gawler stated, the taking of a false course "would plunge him into an arid labyrinth of wood." His fate is a sealed mystery, but tradition says that some years after the horse was found.

As a result of the examination described in this chapter country villages began to spring up all round Adelaide. A writer in July, 1840, said that there were indications of settlement north, south, and east for a distance of about 60 miles from Adelaide. Along the whole distance from Adelaide to Encounter Bay, at every few miles, the farmhouse or the nucleus of a future home was to be seen. In the eastward, amid the splendid tracts of the Mount Barker country, there were numerous farmhouses. The villages of Nairne, Balhannah, Mount Barker, and Hahndorf were daily receiving accessions. It was the same at Gawler and to the northward. In the vicinity of Adelaide villages, farmhouses, and the villas of merchants were increasing with a rapidity truly wonderful.

From this chapter the reader to-day can see how the margin of cultivation was gradually extended and the population distributed over the plains and in the hills eastward of Adelaide.

THE FIRST OVERLAND TRIP

AND

THE COMING OF THE GERMANS.



JOSEPH HAWDON.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST OVERLAND TRIP
AND
THE COMING OF THE GERMANS.

These were two of the most important events in the early history of South Australia.

The first overland journey was a bold undertaking, worthy of the best traditions of our race. Joseph Hawdon, with whom we have to deal, forced his way through the Australian bush. He passed over land that foot of white man had never trodden. Fortunately he kept a full Journal of his experiences. Up to the time of the publication of this history this valuable Journal had not been given to the public in permanent form. It is now possessed by Joseph Hawdon's nephew, Mr. F. Davison, of Mount Gambier, who generously placed it at my disposal.

Long before the settlement with which we are dealing was founded New South Wales had been discovered by Captain Cook. It was colonized in 1788. The famous navigator could see some resemblance between the Australian coastline and the Welsh coast that he loved so well; hence the peculiar name, "New South Wales." Sailing into Botany Bay he said: "I once more hoisted the English colours and, though I had already taken possession of several parts, I now took possession of the whole of the eastern coast in the right of His Majesty King George III., by the name of New South Wales, with all the bays, harbours, rivers, and islands situated upon it."

Joseph Hawdon was a settler in New South Wales. He arrived in that colony in the brig *Children* in November, 1834, having been induced to emigrate from the Old Land through the favourable reports that had been furnished to him of the advantages for the investment of cattle in grazing pursuits. His brother, John Hawdon, had been a settler some six years previous to this. In colonial parlance, Joseph Hawdon became a "squatter." He had heard of the New Settlement on the coast of South Australia, and knew that the emigrants would need meat. Here was a market if

it could be reached. Joseph Hawdon was not only a bold man, but a man of enterprising spirit. He conceived the idea of trying to take a herd of cattle through the heart of the Australian bush to the little settlement on the banks of the Torrens. The idea seemed a quixotic one. There was the danger of not being able to discover a route. The whole herd might perish in the bush. The herdsmen might die from want of water or at the hands of the blacks. It was one thing to penetrate into the interior and quite another thing to find a way out of the maze. Whether he perished or succeeded Joseph Hawdon resolved to make the attempt.

Charles Bonney was another settler in New South Wales who will figure in this history. He was giving up sheep-farming, and Joseph Hawdon requested him to accompany him on his perilous mission. To this he readily consented.

It was January 13th, 1838, the hottest month in the Australian year. Joseph Hawdon selected a mob of cattle and chose his men. The men were armed with carbines, pistols, and bayonets. A start was made. The second day of the journey was a terrible one. The Journal says: "About noon the heat being most intense we halted for an hour, but on attempting to proceed the cattle would not move. The wind began to blow with great violence, and was perfectly hot. Mounting our horses and driving the spare ones before us, we started in search of water. Our kangaroo dogs began howling, and could not be induced to follow. Fortunately, I was riding my favourite horse, which in twenty minutes carried me 6 miles, when I came to a waterhole. Short as the ride was, the heat and violence of the gale made it truly dreadful. It was like riding through a furnace, and so intolerable was my thirst that if I had had to go half a mile farther I certainly must have fallen from my horse. In a quarter of an hour after my arrival Mr. Weatherall (one of the party) came up with a man, and we made some tea and rested for two hours. The man went perfectly blind, owing, I presume, to the intensity of the heat. We placed him in a hollow tree, the best place of shelter we could find, while Mr. Weatherall and I rode back to bring up the cattle. We found them in the position in which they had been left, with the exception of one, which, being too fat to bear the heat, had dropped dead. After giving the dogs a little water that we had brought with us in a tin vessel Mr. Weatherall cut off a few steaks from the beast. . . . It was now quite cool, with every appearance of a coming thunderstorm. We had arrived within a quar-

ter of a mile of the waterhole where we had left the blinded man when a tremendous peal of thunder burst over our heads. The electric fluid passed along my head, causing me to feel as though struck with a heavy bludgeon. Two of the bullocks within four yards of us were killed on the spot, one of them standing stiff and dead some seconds before he fell. I exclaimed, 'That beast is standing up after he is dead!' But on looking round for Mr. Weatherall I saw him supporting his head with his hands. He also had felt the shock, but more severely than myself. A second peal roared and crashed round us, killing another beast about fifteen yards from where I stood. To prevent the whole herd from being killed we galloped among them, to scatter them in various directions. One fell, struck with the electric fluid, whilst I was on the point of striking it. We dismounted for the purpose of bleeding those that had fallen, and while so employed the tree under which I stood was shivered to pieces." This will give the English reader some idea of the severe thunderstorms that occasionally take place in Australia. The Journal adds: "The thunder continued rattling round us, resembling a constant firing of cannon, branches and limbs of trees falling in all directions. We remounted our horses (which stood trembling with terror) that we might better view the surrounding scene. Two hundred of the cattle had huddled closely together, each trying, under an instinctive sense of danger, to screen himself behind his neighbour: the rest, in separate groups of thirty or forty, were flying over the ground in the wildest state of alarm, now running towards us, then bounding away again, as each successive peal of thunder burst. During this awful storm I could not help remarking that the Guardian Hand of Providence was with us, for, though surrounded by death in its most appalling terrors, we were kept unhurt, except the slight accident to my hand, which was lacerated either by the electric fluid or a splinter. When the storm subsided it was fearful to see the traces of its power left in all parts of the forest: the noblest trees shattered to fragments or uprooted, and hurled prostrate on the ground."

Collecting the cattle while the rain fell in torrents the party proceeded to the hollow tree, where the blinded man had been located, and found him "frightened almost to death."

This was a somewhat ill-omened beginning to a three months' journey through the unknown wilds of Australia.

It was on January 22nd that the travellers began the more serious part of their journey, entering upon entirely new country, hitherto untrodden by the foot of civilized man, distant by several miles from what is now called Melbourne.

An interesting incident occurred on March 1. The travellers came to the junction of the Darling with the Murray. Here they saw a tree on the trunk of which the words "Dig under" had been cut. They dug under and found a small bottle which had been deposited there by an explorer (Major Mitchell) of New South Wales. In it there was a slip of paper dated "January 3rd, 1836." The paper stated that from this point Major Mitchell had commenced his return journey from the Darling, and that he was surrounded by hostile tribes and was very anxious about the safety of his party Joseph Hawdon took a copy of the paper, and again inserted it in the bottle with a memorandum of his own stating that he had reached this spot in safety, and had a fair prospect of getting to the New Settlement in South Australia.

On March 2nd they came into contact with a tribe of stout, powerfully-made blacks, about a hundred men, with women and children behind them. This tribe was in no friendly mood. They desired neither collision nor communication with the mysterious whites, so they brandished their spears and motioned with their hands to them to go away.

Later in the same day they met another tribe, equal in number to the former but friendlier in spirit. In spite of all threats and warnings they would close round the stockmen. The natives could not understand all the white party being men. One of them asked Joseph Hawdon, in all seriousness, if the cattle were the white men's wives. This query caused such a hearty laugh from Hawdon and Bonney that the questioner, an old native, turned away apparently ashamed of his blunder. This tribe began to get too familiar. One raised his spear to throw at the leader of the party when his back was turned. Fortunately the spear never left his hand, or blood would have been shed. The cattle took the matter in hand. The blacks gathered round them in such numbers that they became infuriated. They wheeled about among the natives, and two of the beasts charged them right and left. It was the great agility of the blacks that prevented them from being gored. No doubt much to the relief of the party this tribe took its departure.

One noteworthy feature in the trip was this, that although the travellers passed through so many tribes of blacks the cattle never became accustomed to them. On each

approach of a new tribe the beasts were so agitated as to be almost unmanageable. Long before the cattle could see the natives they were aware of their approach, evidently by the sense of smell. They would loudly snort and carry their heads erect in the air.

Farther on they saw another tribe sitting on the brow of a hill, in rows one above the other. The last party were painted with white stripes: these with red. In his Journal Joseph Hawdon says: "At first I suspected there was some mischief brewing from our having seen so many natives within the last two hours; but I soon perceived, to my satisfaction, that the upper lines consisted of women and children. When we got opposite to them about forty of the men came after us without their spears, led by a fine old chief and evidently desirous of being on friendly terms with us. Most of them followed us to the place where we encamped. Their chief was one of the most sensible men I ever met among the savages of New Holland, and appeared to have his men in great order and perfectly under his command. He was anxious to have the use of everything explained. It was a long time before he could be made to comprehend how it was that the wheels of the dray were able to pass round. I gave him an iron tomahawk, with which he was delighted. Taking my hand, he placed it on his breast, and pointing to a little boy, his son, gradually raising his hand above the boy's head to the height of a man's stature, he, by these signs, gave me to understand that he would keep the tomahawk for him. . . . The old man went out with me to shoot ducks, while his people went to catch fish for their supper. Fish is the principal article of food, and they procure it in great abundance."

On bidding farewell to this tribe the old chief sent forward two of his men to act as ambassadors to announce the coming of the whites to the tribe in advance.

On March 4th the travellers discovered a beautiful lake, about 30 or 40 miles in circumference, with a line of gum-trees round its edge. Previous to this some of the country passed through had been very uninteresting. This was a delightful change. The bed of the lake was composed of white clay, the water was deliciously cool, and not a reed growing in it. The air was filled with perfume from the herbs and flowers that grew on the margin of the lake. As Joseph Hawdon was the first white man to discover this body of water it was his right to give it a name. Like a loyal Briton he named it Lake Victoria, in honour of the youthful

Queen who had recently ascended the throne. "Each of the party testified his loyal respect by drinking Her Majesty's health, following the toast with loud and hearty huzzas." This was perhaps the first time that Her Majesty's health had been drunk so many hundreds of miles from the haunts of civilized life.

Later on Joseph Hawdon came to another pretty scene. It was a typical Australian picture. He says: "I saw in the valley beneath me a tribe of aborigines seated on a beautiful plot of moss by the riverside, eating roasted tortoise and broiled fish. They appeared to be a perfect group of content and happiness." It was a picture of man in his primitive simplicity. Probably not one of them had ever seen a white; little did the tribe anticipate the close proximity of such mysterious visitants. After watching them for a time, Joseph Hawdon gave a loud "Tally-ho!" The effect was electric. Roasted tortoise and broiled fish—tasty as it was—was forgotten. They all turned round with amazement. Probably thinking that the rider and the horse were some supernatural existences, the young natives commenced to dance, waving their arms wildly in the air. An old withered-looking hag came forward, making a noise, without using any language whatever, only a senseless gibberish. Two of the men came up the bank out of the valley. They were shown the clouds of dust in the distance caused by the travelling cattle, horses, and drays. What could this mysterious invasion mean? Needless to say, the blacks were dreadfully alarmed.

Just here the leader of the party almost lost his life. Let him tell the story in his own words: "Having singled out a fat bullock with the view of having it slaughtered for the use of the party, I fired a ball at him which entered near his eye; but the shot not having the effect of bringing him down, he made a rush to the river, two of my men seizing hold of his tail to keep him back. Another man was standing close by the river bank in the direct line the bullock was taking. Seeing the danger the man was in I also seized hold of the bullock's tail for the purpose of checking his course; but the man, suddenly perceiving his own danger, snatched a horse pistol out of his belt and fired at the bullock's head. The ball missed the beast and grazed along my own breast. I at first thought, from the sensation I felt, that I was shot through, but though the pain continued rather severe for some time, the injury was not serious. I had, however, a hairbreadth escape of my life. The whole of this scene

was witnessed by a tribe of about fifteen blacks, who sat watching our proceedings with intense interest and apparntly with much terror."

Occasionally the journey was diversified by a kangaroo or an emu hunt. Joseph Hawdon rode a magnificent horse, one of the fleetest he had ever mounted. Out alone one day he saw a large kangaroo bounding over the plain. "Rob Roy" was soon wildly careering after the animal, but, fast as he could gallop, he could not overtake the kangaroo. After a few miles' gallop the rider gave up the chase. Parched with thirst, he made for the Murray, and leaving his horse and firearms a little distance away he descended into the bed of the river for a "draught of its delicious water." Having satiated his thirst and risen from the ground, he was surprised and alarmed to see five blacks standing on the bank, leaning on their spears, not 15 yards away. "Not liking the indication of their serious counsel" he commenced to dance. It appears that anything ludicrous in its nature would always take the blacks' fancy. "A little merriment would at any time drive all hostility from their minds." In this way the traveller once more got possession of his firearms, and mounting his horse he made him bound toward the blacks, who soon dispersed.

It was dark before Joseph Hawdon got back to the camp. He found Charles Bonney giving the natives a treat. He was down at the riverside, with about forty blacks round him, giving them some tunes on the flute. It was a new experience to the natives, and one that they much appreciated. "The finest looking men" were always the most deeply interested in the sound of music.

On March 12th the party came to another fine lake. It was about 30 miles in circumference. Some distance away, on the margin of the lake, a number of blacks were encamped. The coming of the whites had been noticed, and there was great excitement in the wurlies of the blacks. On the bosom of the lake ducks were floating in thousands. It was a beautiful moonlight night, and some of the party strolled down to the edge of the lake to do some shooting. Never since creation had the stillness of the air been broken by the sound of a musket. "Bang!" went the guns. The report rolled over the water with such effect that one "could suppose a hundred shots had been fired at the same moment." Soon the lake was perfectly alive with myriads of wild fowl in motion on its surface, screaming and cackling with alarm

at the novel sounds. Later on, overhead, they heard the wild, sweet, musical notes of the swans as they returned to rest upon the waters of the lake.

As the party lay by the side of the lake, drinking in the beautiful moonlight scene, they could hear the noises made by a tribe of natives "disputing with much emotion this extraordinary inroad upon their territory."

The native name for the lake was Nookamka. As Joseph Hawdon was its discoverer he named it Lake Bonney, after his friend and fellow-traveller, Charles Bonney, "whose company contributed so much to the pleasure of the expedition."

They came into contact with another tribe of natives. The Journal says: "After a good deal of ceremony the natives were induced to approach our tent. I counted in all one hundred and sixty. They informed us that most of their men had gone to a fight at a lake in the northward. They afforded us a good deal of amusement during our halt. Our dogs did not like to see so much familiarity between us and the blacks. They did not interfere so long as the natives kept a respectful distance. Whenever one of the tribe laid his hands upon a single article belonging to us one or another of our canine friends would be sure to catch him by the heels, and when the fellow, on recovering himself, lifted up his spear, and in his rage endeavoured to kill the dog, two or three of his companions would promptly interfere and hold his arms until his passion had cooled down."

The travellers were now approaching the elbow of the River Murray. Here they were delighted to find traces of the former presence of Europeans. There were footprints of horses, the mark of a man's shoe, and evidences of horses being tethered. Some of the blacks, by signs, gave the party to understand that four men on horses had visited the place. They proved to be four settlers from the little encampment on the banks of the Torrens, who had been out in search of the Murray.

On March 23rd Joseph Hawdon and party left the River Murray. After travelling many miles through some very rough country, they came to the vicinity of Mount Barker. The Journal says: "We halted to dine on a creek of excellent water, with most luxurious grass growing in the valley. This creek is immediately on the west side of Mount Barker, to the top of which I rode, and had a most magnificent view of the beautiful country around. The full extent of Lake Alexan-

drina lay before me, at a distance of about 20 miles. The country around consists of land of the best description, and was covered with most luxuriant grass. The scenery was beautiful, the open plains being skirted with a thin forest of large gum-trees, clothed in their silvery bark, and not a decayed branch to be seen on one of them. Keeping a westerly course, we crossed a high range, and again descended into a valley well watered and richly grassed. . . We now commenced our ascent up one of the steepest and most scrubby mountains that ever drays passed over; and having accomplished the Herculean task and kept along the leading ridge of the range to its south-west termination, St. Vincent's Gulf suddenly lay open to our view, appearing close underneath, although its distance was at least fifteen miles. This was truly a sight to be enjoyed, for here the labours of our journey were over, and the possibility of travelling by land from one coast to the other was clearly established."

On April 1st the party encamped "in an open and well-grassed country on a stream called by the natives Onkaparinga. Kangaroos were here in great abundance: some of the large ones would weigh 150 lb."

The travellers kept too far south, and missed the more direct route to the settlement in Adelaide. They came out of the ranges somewhere near where the township of Noarlunga now stands. Riding to the seashore the leader of the party saw the fresh tracks of horses. What could these mean? Nowhere could be seen any other evidences of civilization. Following these tracks they came to a tent and a hut. Here they found three young immigrants just commencing a settler's life. Meat was scarce among the little community in Adelaide. These young men had gone into the bush to shoot kangaroos with which to supply the Adelaide market. The flesh of the kangaroos realized 1s. per lb.

At the advent of Joseph Hawdon and party the young kangaroo hunters were almost as much astonished as though they had witnessed a resurrection. However, when told that the travellers had come "across the vast wilderness of the interior" they showed them "every possible attention and hospitality." They were now fifteen miles south of Adelaide.

The next evening Joseph Hawdon (with one of the kangaroo hunters as a guide) started for Adelaide. About an hour after dark he entered the infant settlement and once more enjoyed some of the comforts of civilization. He was invited to spend an evening with Governor Hindmarsh,

who was delighted at the success of the expedition, demonstrating as it did the possibility of bringing cattle overland from the older settlement of New South Wales.

The pioneers kept up the old English custom of feasting and drinking. To commemorate the successful issue of Mr. Hawdon's overland trip a public dinner was given to him. About ninety gentlemen were present. James Hurtle Fisher presided, and presented Mr. Hawdon with a snuffbox. An ox chosen from Mr. Hawdon's herd was roasted whole for the entertainment of all comers.

So ended the first overland trip that will ever be memorable in our country's annals.

THE COMING OF THE GERMANS.

This was another event in the early history of South Australia which deserves special mention. Two years after the colony was founded hundreds of Germans emigrated to it. They did so to escape persecution. In 1830 the Prussian Government tried to force on the Lutherans a form of liturgy to which many of them objected. As a matter of conscience many of them refused to conform. An era of persecution began. Some of the Nonconformist Germans were banished, imprisoned, and fined. They were not allowed to meet together for Divine worship under the circumstances of which they approved. Rich as well as poor were persecuted. In the "Life of George Fife Angas" there is reference to a German baron in Silesia who, for holding prayer meetings in his house, was heavily fined, his state coach and cattle were confiscated, and he was confined in prison for several months. The persecution was so unrelenting that many of the Germans determined to emigrate. The pastor of a Lutheran congregation in Klemzig (Augustus Kavel) heard of the proposed new settlement in South Australia and went to London to get information. He was poorly furnished for his mission, having but £3 in his pocket and not being able to speak the English language. In George Fife Angas he found a sympathizing friend. Pastor Kavel remained in London about two years and five months to formulate some scheme for the betterment of his people. Mr. Angas not only gave him advice, but monetary assistance. The outcome was that a vessel was sent over to Germany by the South Australian Company to take the oppressed Lutherans to South Australia. The Prussian Government, although denying the people liberty of conscience, was not willing to let them go. Considerable expense was thus

incurred, and some of the Germans anxious to emigrate were put to great inconvenience. Some of them had sold their goods, and their scant resources were rapidly diminishing. After a time of suspense the Government gave them permission to depart, and George Fife Angas advanced £4,000 at the rate of 5 per cent. to defray the expenses of their passage to South Australia and to give them a start in the new Province.

Edwin Hodder, in his "Life of George Fife Angas," gives a graphic description of the German migration. He says: "It was a curious sight that many thousands of persons witnessed in the year of grace 1838, large loads of poor emigrants bearing with them all their earthly possessions, leaving home and fatherland in search of liberty of conscience. Smoothly but swiftly they glided along the Oder, crowds of people in the villages and upon the bridges pressing to see them, and to listen to the hymns they sang with fervour. Some of the spectators ridiculed, some looked on in idle curiosity, while others uttered a sympathetic 'God-speed.' At some of the halting places 'like-minded brethren' came down to join in their prayers, and then took leave with tears and lamentations. Past Frankfort-on-the-Oder, through the many bridges of Berlin, amid the pleasure-seekers and the gay and fashionable throngs of Charlottenburg, Spondau, and Potsdam, the pilgrim exiles sailed, spending their hours in singing and prayer until they reached Wittenberg, the last Prussian town upon their route. Then they glided down the Elbe to Hamburg, and went on board the *Prince George* bound for Plymouth." George Fife Angas went to Plymouth to see them. "No sooner was it known that he was on board than every man, woman, and child came up by the 'tween deck ladder, like bees out of a hive. A forest of hands were held out for him to shake. Tears streamed down the faces of strong rugged men, while murmurs equivalent to 'God bless you' were uttered and repeated by all."

On board this vessel was Pastor Kavel and his congregation from Klemzig.

In due time they arrived safely in South Australia and settled on some land belonging to Mr. Angas, to which they gave the name of Klemzig, after the home they had left in the fatherland.

There must be something in men and women who will sacrifice home and fatherland for conscience sake. These German refugees were the "pick of Silesia." Splendid colonists they made—devout, sober, contented, industrious.

In course of time other vessels followed; one was commanded by Captain Hahn, after whom the picturesque town of Hahndorf is named.

The early settlers treated these German refugees with great kindness, providing them with homes, finding them employment, and in other ways ministering to their wants. They were strangers in a strange land, and the hearts of the English immigrants who had just left dear Old England warmed toward them.

Describing the refugees who had settled at Hahndorf the Press said: "The Germans at Hahndorf have been drafted out in parties amongst the settlers and have assisted in making stockyards, fencing, breaking up land, and building houses. They rise early and work late: are moderate and contented as to food and accommodation; and cheerful and pleasant in their intercourse with fellow-labourers; and (even in the hours appointed for relaxation) will offer to bake and to do other things useful about the stations. But the most prominent characteristic of all is their piety. In every act they acknowledge God—when they rise, when they are at meals, and when they go to sleep. At the end of the week they like to return to their own village to join their congregation; or when this cannot conveniently be done the parties at adjoining stations will meet to celebrate Divine worship and to 'sing the songs of Zion' in a strange land. Striking is the effect of these Teutonic accents rising amid our solitary places. Here they have that liberty of conscience which was denied them at home, and they can live contented in spite of various privations. They express themselves simply and emphatically. 'What more has man to do,' said a very intelligent elderly member of the community, 'than to labour and to pray without ceasing?' They labour and pray accordingly, and look with faith to receive the blessing of God upon their toil. Surely such a people deserves to be happy."

In a public communication in May, 1838, Pastor Kavel said: "Having been obliged to leave our native country in consequence of changes that have taken place there . . . we resolved first to emigrate to the United States, but Providence directed our steps to a Province of that Empire which excels by reason of its religious privileges, as well as by the number of true and sympathizing Christians. Many of them took an interest in our cause, but none has displayed more sympathy and self-denial than George Fife Angas, Esq. It was he who desired the South Australian Company to send out our respected friend and countryman, Mr.

Menge, the geologist, to examine the country and to find out a place where we might settle. It was he who, through his unwearied perseverance, and his unabated charity, gained the victory over many obstacles thrown in our way. May the Lord bless him and his house for ever and ever. On our arrival here we hailed this hospitable shore as a place of refuge to worship God without any disturbance of our conscience, and entertained—and do still entertain—the hope to live and die here. We have found what we have been asking for for many years—religious liberty. We believe it will gratify our friends here and abroad to know that we are happy in South Australia, though we have to struggle with many difficulties unavoidable in an infant colony."

At Queen Victoria's Birthday on May 24th, 1839, the German immigrants at their own desire met in front of Government House to swear allegiance to the British Crown.

Pastor Kavel—the Moses who led his people out of Egypt—died rather suddenly on February 12th, 1860, aged sixty-one years. He went on a visit to a relation at Tanunda and was attacked by apoplexy. There was a vast concourse at the funeral; some two thousand persons followed the hearse in solemn procession. He was a good man, strict in his creed but tolerant toward those who differed from him on religious questions.

THE RISE OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.



"Government Hut," Adelaide, in 1836.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RISE OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

South Australians to-day enjoy a rare privilege. It is only seventy-four years since the foundations of our Province were laid, so we can study the process of nation-building, ourselves being in close connection with the events recorded. To few people is this privilege given. The Englishman to-day who wishes to study the history of his country must go back to times that are, indeed, ancient. It is truly to a hazy past that his vision is directed—a past of which he can form only a dim, imperfect, and inadequate conception. Here we can watch the process of nation-building at our doors. We can see the stone "well and truly laid" and watch the builders as they add course to course till a substantial British Commonwealth is built up.

In ages gone by communities have been founded. They have had their successes and reverses, but these have not been immediately recorded. Long after the first generations had passed away someone has tried to give permanent record to a vague, fleeting, and perhaps not very trustworthy tradition. We are grateful for such service, imperfect though it may be. But with the educational facilities of the present day there is a better method. It is a mistake to allow too long a period of time to lapse before writing our history. Events fade from the memory; pioneers pass away: and records are lost. Close contiguity to pioneers and to pioneer times makes the historical story more realistic. It is well to pause in the stress and storm of life to review the past, and to put on record the experiences of the generation which preceded us. Only in this way can history be full. trustworthy, and animated.

The rise of social institutions is an interesting phase of nation-building. To see the provision that a community makes for its social and intellectual needs is a matter of supreme importance. Social institutions are really an index to national character. Judged by this standard there is much in our history, short as it is, for which we ought to be grateful. The eminent author and journalist, John Foster Fraser, who visited our State in 1909, said: "The feature

which impressed me about Adelaide, compared to other cities of the same size in other parts of the world, is the vitality of your public life as seen in your fine institutions. Other cities of the world have as many institutions of this nature, but those cities are three or four times the size of Adelaide. The wonder to me is that in a city that is comparatively new you have such a well-developed public life and cultured spirit."

The Mechanics' Institute.

The Province was founded by a superior class of men and women. Already we have seen the formation of a South Australian Literary Association. This was in London before the colony was actually proclaimed or an emigrant had left the shores of Old England. Subsequently the name was changed to "The South Australian Literary and Scientific Association."

Soon after the arrival of the pioneers and their settlement on the banks of the Torrens a Mechanics' Institute was formed. It was the day of small, if not feeble, things. The crude building in which the members met was situated on the North Parklands, near the site of the present railway station.

In August, 1839, a meeting was held in the Baptist Church, Hindley Street. This was the first place of worship in the colony, originally built by the Methodists. At this meeting it was decided that "The Literary and Scientific Association" should be united with the "Mechanics' Institute." The following officers were elected:—Patron, His Excellency Governor Gawler; President, John Barton Hack; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Robert Gouger, David McLaren, and John Morphett; Treasurer, Edward Stephens. These were a few of the representative men among the early settlers—men of education and of natural ability. The pioneer Congregational minister, a very able man (the Rev. T. Q. Stow), was asked to deliver the first lecture. Some of the ablest men in the settlement gave lectures in connection with the Mechanics' Institute on its newly-organized basis. One of our pioneer fathers—a fine man intellectually and physically (George Stevenson)—occupied more than one evening in lecturing on "Horticulture," a subject in which he was a specialist.

In 1844 "The South Australian Subscription Library" was founded, a society in no way connected with the Mechanics' Institute.

About three years later a meeting was held in the Theatre at which a movement was set on foot for the amalgamation of the two societies just mentioned. This was done. The united society was now named "The South Australian Subscription Library and Mechanics' Institute." The library was taken from the wooden building on the parklands to a large room in Peacock's Buildings, Hindley Street. Some time later the Library was again removed to the Exchange Chambers, King William Street.

This pioneer institute must have answered a very useful purpose. It gave information and intellectual stimulus. But it was a National Institute with Government support that the early colonists needed. In October, 1854, the report of a Select Committee was submitted to the Legislative Council favouring the establishment of a South Australian Institute.

In the same month of the same year Mr. Fenn moved in the Legislative Council—"That the report of the Select Committee in relation to the establishment of a National Institute should be taken into consideration, with a view to moving an address to His Excellency praying him to direct the law officers of the Crown to prepare and to bring in a Bill for the purpose of establishing a South Australian Institute."

In 1856 a Bill was brought in for that purpose and passed by the Council. The Bill gave the Board of Governors power to admit and to incorporate other societies that desired such incorporation. Later on some societies availed themselves of this legislation. The first society to do so was the Royal Society of South Australia, founded in 1853. Subsequently the Philosophical Society and the Society of Arts were incorporated with the Institute.

After the Government had taken action the Institute assumed a national character. Interest in it grew and deepened. The reading-room, free to the public, was well patronized and other rooms in the Exchange building were taken for Institute purposes.

Later on a vote passed the Legislative Council for the erection of a suitable Institute building on North Terrace. This was opened on January 29th, 1861. It was another step forward in the Commonwealth that our fathers were building; they recognized it as such and did honour to the occasion. The chronicler of the period said: "Never, perhaps, in the history of our many and happy public reunions did the people of Adelaide assemble under more auspicious cir-

cumstances than upon this memorable occasion." To "the wonders of art, the efforts of intellect, and the curiosities of nature were added the charms of music." Sir Charles Cooper (the pioneer judge) delivered the inaugural address. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Todd revealed "in a countless number of dazzling experiments" the wonders of the electric light. In his opening address, speaking of the new building, Sir Charles Cooper said: "Newcomers will be surprised at its beauty, and those who, like myself, remember the old Government Hut and the wooden and canvas dwellings of former days will look up to it with pride."

Proprietary College.

The early immigrants were both enterprising and ambitious. So much so that before the colony was four years of age steps were taken to establish a Proprietary College. This was really an anticipation of our present University. Toward this movement £4,000 was promised by the immigrants. The pioneers wanted to make provision not only for the higher education of their own children, but for the children of English residents in India. A prospectus was issued which stated that one of the foundations upon which the material and moral prosperity of the colony was to be based was a provision to secure to its youth the blessings of a good and liberal education. This object had been kept in view by all the friends of the colony. In addition to the operations of the South Australian School Society and the opportunities afforded by private seminaries the establishment of a college sufficiently endowed to guarantee a first-rate education was needed. It was needed not only in the interests of the children of European parents settled in the colony, but for the children of the higher classes of residents in the East Indies. The subject had been actively taken up by the friends of the colony in England. The accomplishment of this object was almost as important to India as to the colony. The salubrity of the South Australian climate and its short distance from the Presidency presented obvious inducements to the parents in India to send their children to South Australia for education in preference to sending them to England. It was expected that the Indian public would subscribe to the scheme as well as the supporters of the colony in England and the South Australian settlers. Apparently (although a large sum of money was promised) the scheme collapsed. Probably it was too premature—too ambitious. Still, the

movement speaks well for the enterprise and mental calibre of some of the pilgrim fathers.

Natural History.

Before the settlement had been established two years the pioneers had formed a Natural History Society. This was in December, 1838. The object of the society was stated to be "the cultivation of the science of natural history in all its branches, more especially the natural history of South Australia." His Excellency Governor Gawler was chosen President. Associated with him in the management of the society were such noted pioneers as John Morphett, Osmond Gilles, John Brown, George Stevenson, David McLaren, Dr. Wyatt, George Hall, and Judge Jickling. Osmond Gilles offered a piece of land near Hurtle Square on which the society was at liberty to erect a building. Our pioneer entomologist was C. A. Wilson, M.E.S., who week after week contributed to *The South Australian Register* valuable notes on natural history. He wrote under the *nom de plume* of "Naturæ Amator."

Banks.

The Bank of South Australia was founded by Edward Stephens, who arrived a few days after the colony was proclaimed by Governor Hindmarsh. The banking plant and the money brought out by Mr. Stephens were first located in a tent on the shores of Holdfast Bay. Tradition tells how Mrs. Stephens often sat on the chests containing the specie in fear while her husband was away interesting himself in the proposed sites for the city of Adelaide.

The Bank of Australasia was opened on January 14th, 1839.

The Savings Bank was established in 1840. On February 12th of that year there was a general meeting of the immigrants held in the council room of the corporation. Major O'Halloran was in the chair. On the motion of Rev. C. B. Howard, seconded by the Rev. T. Q. Stow, it was decided to establish a Savings Bank and to begin operations on March 16th, 1840. Captain Charles Sturt, Major O'Halloran, Matthew Smillie, and J. A. Jackson (a member of the pioneer Legislative Council) were appointed trustees.

Chamber of Commerce.

At a meeting held in January, 1839, it was decided to establish a Chamber of Commerce. It was formed "for the

protection and advancement of the commercial interests of South Australia." The business of the chamber was managed by a board of nine members, who elected from their own body a chairman, secretary, and treasurer. The entrance fee was five guineas and the annual subscription two guineas.

In the financial crisis which overtook the colony in Governor Gawler's time the existence of such a board must have been most opportune and valuable. When intelligence reached the pioneers that Governor Gawler's bills had been dishonoured the Chamber of Commerce met and passed the following resolution: "That should His Excellency the Governor see fit to draw upon Her Majesty's Treasury, the members of the Chamber would accept such bills in payment for their ordinary business transactions." Many of the more prominent pioneers were connected with the Chamber of Commerce. Among others were Edward Stephens, William Giles, John Baker, Alexander L. Elder, and John Barton Hack.

A Statistical Society was formed in the year 1841.

Temperance.

"The Total Abstinence Society" was founded on January 1st, 1840, its object being "the cure and prevention of intemperance." Meetings were to be held every week. In 1841 the society numbered 160 members, including "thirty reformed characters." The cause was then growing, especially at Port Adelaide and Mount Barker. John Hart was President of the Society and John Everard and William Cole Secretaries. John Ridley, the inventor of the famous reaping machine, took great interest in this movement.

Benevolence.

To make provision for the sick and the infirm is one of the first duties of every civilized community. In December, 1839, preparations were made by the early immigrants to establish a benevolent society. An infirmary was already in existence and a Colonial Surgeon had been appointed. The Colonial Chaplain (Rev. C. B. Howard) took an interest in this institution, and in 1840 preached a special sermon on behalf of its funds. During the year 1839, 102 patients had been admitted, nearly all destitute poor. But the infirmary, according to report, was a somewhat gruesome place, and better provision was urgently needed.

On July 15th, 1840, steps were taken in the direction of founding a hospital. Governor Gawler laid the foundation-stone of a building to be used as such. This was at the north-eastern corner of the town on the site originally chosen and marked by Colonel Light. Among those present on the occasion were George S. Kingston, David McLaren, Major O'Halloran, Captain Charles Sturt, George Hall, and the Rev. C. B. Howard. A plate was deposited beneath the stone bearing the inscription:—"The foundation-stone of this building was laid by His Excellency Colonel George Gawler on the 15th day of July, 1840, and of the third year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria; Architect, G. S. Kingston; Builder, B. Fuller."

Agriculture.

"The King himself is served by the field." Yes; ruler and ruled, peer and peasant, all alike depend upon the soil. What the pilgrim fathers were anxious to know was the productive power of the country to which they had come. Some of the first immigrants, as the vessel in which they sailed drew near to the shore, were not at all favourably impressed. Standing on the deck of the vessel in summer time, straining their eyes to take in as much as possible of the distant scene, they shook their heads and their hearts failed. On the Mount Lofty ranges no green grass could be seen. Save the timber, all appeared to be barren and brown. Their doubts were soon dissipated and their fears set at rest. What heartened the first settlers who landed at Kangaroo Island was the fine potatoes and onions grown by the runaway sailors or escaped convicts who had taken up their abode there. One of the first things that Colonel Light's survey party did at Rapid Bay was to plant a small garden. The produce was abundant. Dr. Everard, who took an interest in horticulture, grew splendid watermelons at Glenelg. This was in 1837, within a year of the proclamation of the colony. In the same year, in front of Colonel Light's hut on North Terrace, and in the South Australian Company's garden on the same terrace, vegetables were growing equal to any that could be produced in Europe.

Speaking in 1839 George Stevenson said: "I have seen no finer samples of wheat, barley, and oats in any part of the world than were produced last season (1838) in the immediate neighbourhood of Adelaide. The wheat (grown without manure) was carefully measured, and the produce was at the

rate of 53 bushels per acre." On less than a quarter of an acre of land Mr. Stevenson raised 800 melons of all sorts.

George Stevenson! Ought not a monument be raised to his memory? If the man who causes two blades of grass to grow where formerly there was only one is a benefactor to his species, then George Stevenson was much more than this. Posterity ought gratefully to remember him. This pioneer and his wife came out with Governor Hindmarsh in the *Buffalo* in December, 1836. He held the position of secretary to the Governor and to the Executive Council. He was also the first editor in the New Settlement, *The South Australian Register and Gazette* being under his charge. George Stevenson was a man of splendid physique, standing 6 ft. 4 in. high, and with a mind as capacious as his body. It was he who read the Proclamation under a large gum-tree on December 28th, 1836. On this occasion his love for flowers was evident. While others noted the booming of the cannon, the shouts of the immigrants, the cold collation and speeches, the eye of this pioneer fell lovingly upon the shrubs and flowers with which the plains of Glenelg were studded. They were welcomed as friends. He retained his connection with *The Register* until 1842, when it passed into other hands. Some time after he established *The South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal*. But it is as the pioneer horticulturist that George Stevenson deserves to be remembered. As soon as the site for the city was surveyed he secured four acres of land at North Adelaide. Here he built a house and, at great expense and trouble, planted a garden. He tried to secure every variety of vine, fruit tree, and shrub. This pioneer did more than any early settler of whom tradition speaks to develop in the young community a love for useful and ornamental gardening. The knowledge acquired by reading and by practical experience he freely imparted to others. His garden was one of the "show spots" of the primitive settlement, and he has been rightly named "The Father of Horticulture in South Australia." George Stevenson was one of the committee who chose the site for our Botanic Gardens. He died at North Adelaide October 18th, 1856, aged fifty-six years."

In the early part of 1838 some of the pioneers took steps to establish a South Australian Agricultural Society. In this movement Governor Gawler took great interest. On November 11th, 1839, a meeting in the interests of the proposed society was held in the office of Mr. Robert Cock, Rosina Street. A month later another meeting was held in the

court-room, Currie Street. David McLaren presided. The rules were submitted for approval and passed, the annual subscription being fixed at £2. David McLaren was elected as President and Captain Berkeley as Secretary.

Nothing further appears to have been done till December 8th, 1840, when the first annual general meeting was held. This was at Fordham's Hotel, Grenfell Street. Many of the pioneer agriculturists attended and brought with them specimens of wheat, barley, and oats. This was the germ of the magnificent exhibitions that were to follow as the people settled upon the soil and the resources of the colony were developed. On this occasion David McLaren took the chair, and addresses were given by George Stevenson, John Morphett, and Captain Charles Sturt. The annual subscription was now reduced to one guinea, and the committee expressed the hope that a few months later it would be in a position to hold a show at which prizes would be given. Arrangements were then made accordingly. It was decided to offer a prize of three guineas for the best sample of wheat. A similar reward was to be given for each of the following:—Best two bushels of oats, barley, and maize. Three guineas were also to be given for the best hundredweight of potatoes.

This show—the first competitive agricultural exhibition—was held at Fordham's Hotel on March 2nd, 1840, and was a decided success. Among the exhibits was a watermelon, grown on the banks of the Torrens, weighing nearly 60 lb.

Apparently this society was somewhat ephemeral in its duration! On January 24th, 1842, a meeting was called to establish a *permanent* Agricultural and Horticultural Society. His Excellency Governor Grey was chosen as Patron.

The first show of the reorganized society was held on February 16th, 1842. This was in the schoolroom, North Terrace, opposite Government House. The young colony was evidently making progress, and the immigrants were becoming increasingly conscious of the productive power of the soil. The showroom was crowded from 1 to 3 o'clock, and the exhibition was stated to be "a most creditable one."

At the dinner which followed Governor Grey said: "Five years ago the colony was an unknown wilderness producing roots and affording subsistence to wandering native tribes. Now wherever he had lately been he found farms springing up and the settlers doing well by their labour and

perseverance. On the hills and plains where a few years ago wild dogs ranged unchecked they now had 200,000 sheep feeding."

Slowly but surely the colony was recovering from the blow it had suffered through the dishonouring of Governor Gawler's bills. The people were settling upon the soil and the margin of cultivation was being extended. In 1841 horticulture received a stimulus. The South Australian Vine Association imported 57,200 vine cuttings and a choice variety of fruit-trees. These came from the Cape and were distributed among the subscribers to the Association.

We now come to the pioneer show *par excellence;* the one that eclipsed all others and marked a new social and industrial era. This was in February, 1844. The show was held on the North Parklands toward the east end of North Terrace. Here under the grand old gums a pavilion was erected. Describing the event an old chronicler says: "The situation was one of the most picturesque that could have been chosen, being in the centre of a grove of magnificent spreading trees and surrounded by enticing scenery." The pavilion was 100 ft. by 40 ft. On both sides of the large tent samples of wheat and other cereals were arranged. Two rows of tables, each 80 ft. long by 6 ft. wide, were "crowded with the rarest and most valuable fruits, vegetables, dairy produce, and samples of various colonial manufactures and minerals." The entrance to the tent was "decorated with bouquets of sweet-scented flowers," and the "gigantic bamboo reeds and the New Zealand flax plant stood on either side of the pillars by which the tent was supported." John Stephens, the pioneer who penned the description of this national event, waxed eloquent over the "1,200 well-dressed ladies and gentlemen congregated in one spot." He was more interested in "watching their cheerful faces" than even in "the prize wheat" or the "tempting grapes" that had come from George Stevenson's garden.

The following prizes were offered: Best three bushels of wheat, five guineas; best three bushels of barley and oats, three guineas each; best collection of fruit, five guineas; best reaping machine, ten guineas. The prize for wheat was secured by Messrs. Innes and Gilmore, of the Chain of Ponds. George Stevenson carried off many prizes, including the five guineas for the best collection of fruit. John Ridley obtained the prize for the reaping machine.

William Giles presided at the dinner. "It behoved them," said he, "as fellow-colonists not only to rejoice over

the success which had attended their efforts, but to manifest to the world that they had been mainly actuated by benevolence and not by mere sordid, selfish motives. If they but cheerfully persevered they would find new blessings, new beauties, and new wonders saluting them at each step of their colonial progress."

It may not be out of place to give the prices of some of the fruits about the time this historic show was held: Grapes, from 1s. 9d. to 2s. per lb.; peaches, 1s. 6d., 2s., and 3s. per dozen; plums, from 2s. to 3s. per dozen.

In dealing with the agricultural and pastoral interests of the Province in the early days the name of John Howard Angas deserves special mention. He was the son of George Fife Angas and came to South Australia in 1843. He aided materially in the development of the country and laid the foundation of a great pastoral and agricultural industry. Mr. Angas secured from the manager of the South Australian Company in the early days some of the best shorthorn cattle and merino sheep. He established large dairies on the co-operative principle, milking at one time as many as 500 cows. Throughout life he spared no expense in improving the breed of farm stock. He was a phenomenal prizetaker at agricultural shows, and was a life member of the Royal Agricultural Societies of Great Britain, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. The services rendered to South Australia in many ways by this enterprising pioneer will bear fruit for many years to come. I cannot deal in this volume with his work as a legislator and philanthropist. This work was a later development and must be dealt with in another volume of the history of our State. His gifts to some of our charitable, religious, and other institutions were of a most munificent character. He was a pioneer whose services will be appreciated and whose name will be held in honour by generations to come.

Botanic Gardens.

The first Botanic Gardens were secured and laid out by public subscription. This was in 1839. A committee of management was formed and John Bailey was appointed Colonial Botanist. The gardens were located not far from the old bridge that spanned the Torrens, called the "Company's Bridge." A donation of £10 made the donor a life member and admitted him and his family to the gardens free of charge, while a subscription of £1 admitted the subscriber and his family to the gardens for a year. The grounds were open every day except Sunday.

The experiment, though continued for some time, was not a success. One writer to the pioneer Press stated that the public "wanted to see that the committee of management were in earnest, and that the gardens exhibited something more attractive than Mr. Bailey's cabbages and melons."

In 1840 it was announced with regret "that the funds for the support of the gardens were not sufficient to meet current expenditure. Unless something were speedily done by the public or the Government the whole establishment would be broken up." Later on there was a further announcement to the effect that "the Colonial Botanist had left the gardens," and of all the plants that were growing twelve months previously none were left but a few peach, almond, and cherry trees. The place was going to ruin.

It was not till the year 1854 that something adequate in the way of providing a public Botanic Garden was done. During that year the sum of £3,000 was voted by the Legislative Council for the purpose. The proposed gardens were to be under Government control. On March 10th, 1855, the present site was chosen and preparations were made to lay out the gardens. Mr. Francis was first appointed secretary and then curator. There is a monument to his memory in the gardens.

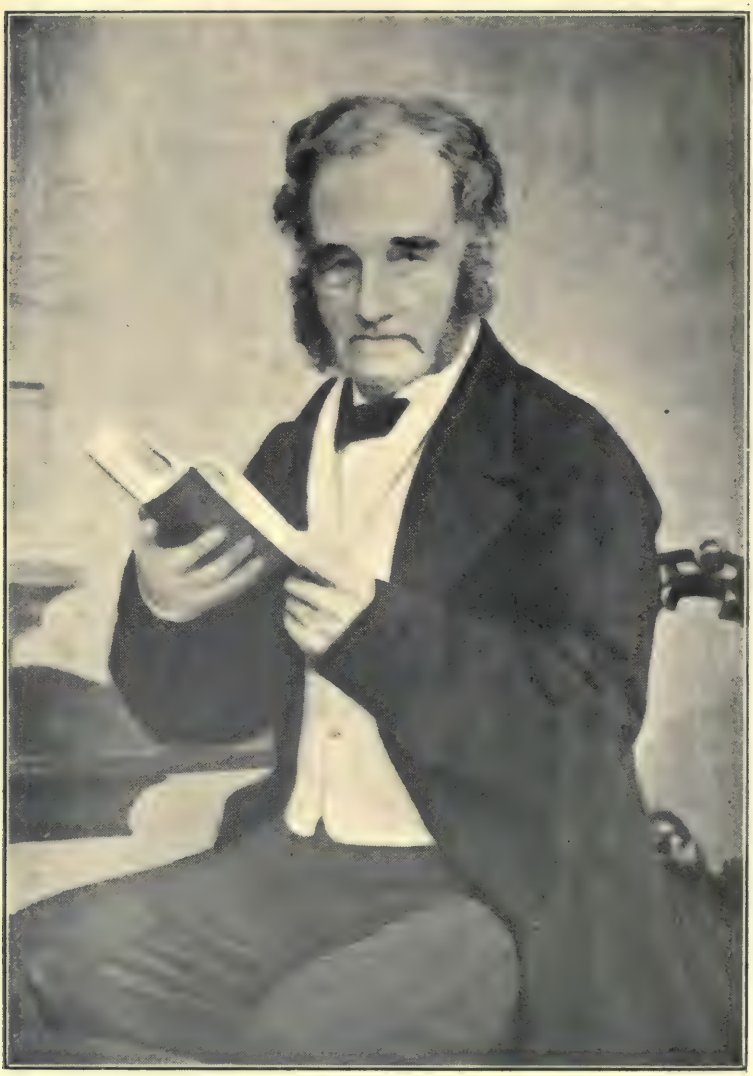
A Pioneer Zoo.

It may interest the descendants of the pioneers to know that in primitive times the colony could boast of a Zoo. Would that the reader of to-day could feel the enthusiasm that it evidently generated. Those who remain of the first generation of children born in South Australia will perhaps remember the "Old Cremorne," a public-house that stood on the Unley and Mitcham Road. In the early days it was a centre of attraction, especially to the children of the first settlers. In connection with the hotel tea-gardens had been planted. Into these gardens the proprietor introduced birds of various kinds, turtles from the River Murray, and other animals, including an elephant. The reader may imagine how the children of the pioneers went to the "Old Cremorne" at Unley to see its living treasures. The road to Unley at that time was execrable, at least in winter. Travellers sometimes left the road so called for the open paddocks; but at times these were covered with mud and water. But what were bad roads, mud, or water-covered paddocks to the first generation of children born in South Australia? These were romantic, natural conditions to which they were accustomed and, no doubt, in which they revelled. Neither

mud, morass, nor water would prevent them from visiting the old-time Zoo in the Cremorne Gardens. One of them has told how he in the early days, with other lads, walked from Marryatville to the Old Cremorne to see the gardens and the elephant. On the way, in crossing a morass, his foot became jammed in a wheel track. He had first to pull the foot out of the shoe and then extract the latter, covered with mud and filled with water.

When not on exhibition the elephant was at work, and some of the paddocks on which the aristocratic suburb of Malvern now stands were once furrowed by the plough drawn by this animal. The elephant found its way to Gepp's Cross, on the North Road. Here it was a source of danger and trouble; so much so that the editor of the pioneer Press found it necessary to publish a word of warning, which he did in the following terms: "That exotic gentleman who formerly resided at Unley has now for some time quitted the service of his late master . . . and concluded an engagement with Mr. Matthews, of Gepp's Cross, where he is now gaining some credit for his strength and perseverance in drawing the plough: but the horses who pass on the road (whether jealous of his superior strength or dazzled at his elegance of form) jib, buck, and dance the polka. We would recommend any traveller on the North Road to give the paddock by Gepp's Cross rather a wide berth."

POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL REVERSES.



Governor Gawler.

CHAPTER X.

POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL REVERSES.

To the young colony the dark figure of dissension came. It appeared in official circles. There were disputes between Governor Hindmarsh and Colonel Light over the city site. In a previous chapter I stated that the interests of the colony were vested in Commissioners appointed by the Crown. One of these was sent out as "Resident Commissioner." This dual arrangement—a Resident Commissioner and a Governor, both vested with special powers—did not succeed. It led to divided authority. They came into conflict. The Resident Commissioner claimed the right of naming places within the colony independently of the Governor. There was some wrangling over naming the streets and squares of the city.[18] It was James Hurtle Fisher's opinion that, as representative of the Board of Commissioners in London, he had supreme authority over all the territory. He would brook no interference.

In a despatch to Lord Glenelg dated April 13th, 1837, Governor Hindmarsh said: "A considerable quantity of land near the river and round the town had very properly been reserved as public walks and for other public purposes," but "the Commissioners' representative (Mr. Fisher) laid claim to every inch of the ground." He pathetically asked: "May I request that your lordship will have the goodness to instruct me upon this point?"

But the Secretary of State for the Colonies was also in a difficulty. There was dualism in London as well as in the South Australian settlement. It must have been a difficult matter for even an English statesman to define what

[18] The committee who named the streets and squares of Adelaide consisted of Governor Hindmarsh, the Judge (Sir John Jeffcott), Robert Gouger, James Hurtle Fisher, John Barton Hack, John Morphett, Edward Stephens, T. B. Strangways, Thomas Gilbert, John Brown, and Osmond Gilles. The South Australian reader will see a connection between the names of some of the streets and the persons who formed the committee: Hindmarsh Square, Hurtle Square, Jeffcott, Gouger, Morphett, Gilbert, Brown, and Gilles Streets, Strangways Terrace, and Barton Terrace.

duties belonged exclusively to the Commissioners and what to the Crown.

In another despatch Governor Hindmarsh complained that he was "not consulted," but was ignored by the Resident Commissioner. No report of the Commissioner's operations was submitted to him; he knew no more than an ordinary colonist did as to what that functionary was doing.

"No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other." The early history of our State is a noteworthy illustration of the truth of these words. Among the early immigrants there was a Governor's party and a Resident Commissioner's party. The community was divided against itself. Sir John Jeffcott (the Judge), Captain Lipson (the Harbourmaster), and George Stevenson (the Private Secretary) were on the Governor's side: Charles Mann (the Advocate-General), John Brown (the Emigration Agent), and George Strickland Kingston (the Deputy-Surveyor) were antagonistic to the Governor.

In a despatch dated May 31st, 1837, Governor Hindmarsh informed Lord Glenelg that he did not receive from the officers of the colony that "support which they were bound officially to render to him as Governor." Said he: "If I did not possess the cordial assistance of Sir John Jeffcott, whose upright and honourable behaviour I have every reason to admire, I should be alone in the Council and out of doors." In addition to Sir John Jeffcott "Captain Lipson and Mr. Stevenson were the only official persons friendly to the Colonial Government."

Not only had "some of the Higher Officers" of the colony (who were paid by the Crown) taken up a position of antagonism to the Governor, but "one of the inferior officers," as the Governor represented him to be. This was John Brown, the Emigration Agent. The Governor felt so keenly what he considered to be the discourteous attitude that this official had taken up in relation to him that he suggested to Lord Glenelg the advisability of his instant dismissal.

A bitter and in some respects paltry spirit is manifest in the early despatches. Though more than seventy years have elapsed since they were written, yet in reading them instinctively one feels the strained relationship, the animus, the electrical atmosphere. Subterfuge and intrigue are also evident. Apparently all parties were to blame. It was indeed, as an old proverb says, "six of one and half a dozen of the other." Some of the points of contention were very small. When "the Governor's table" and "the removal

of a tarpaulin" were considered fit subjects to be brought before the attention of Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, one feels that the whole business is beneath contempt.

John Brown was evidently a man of most determined spirit. He was requested by Governor Hindmarsh to see that the body of a destitute immigrant was buried. To this he demurred. In John Brown's judgment his duty was to attend to the needs of the living immigrants, not the dead ones. He held that he was not under the jurisdiction of the Governor, that he "held his office under the seal of the Commissioners in London," and "he repudiated any other authority." The Governor suspended him. The Resident Commissioner (James Hurtle Fisher), assuming that the Emigration Agent was under his control, published and placarded a handbill stating that John Brown (who promised to be as famous as the American abolitionist) still retained his office.

In a very diplomatic way James Hurtle Fisher sent in his resignation as a member of the pioneer Council. Part of it read as follows:—"To the Hon. the Colonial Secretary—It is with deep regret that I have to request that you will be good enough to state to His Excellency that I am under the necessity of *proposing to relinquish* the high honour which His Majesty has been pleased to confer upon me by appointing me a member of the Legislative Council in this Province, and of *soliciting permission* to withdraw from the Council."

The resignation went on to say that the Resident Commissioner found his duties as such so numerous as to require his constant and undivided attention. He also referred to the differences between himself and the Governor, and thought that his continuance in the Council might embarrass its proceedings.

The resignation was skilfully worded. It was not direct. It left the way open to beat a retreat. The Resident Commissioner only "proposed" to relinquish the duties of his office as a member of the pioneer Council.

No doubt Governor Hindmarsh was delighted at the turn events had taken. It must have been with a sigh of relief that he read the resignation, which was at once accepted by him. Possibly he was looking forward to happier and more peaceful times. But in this he was mistaken.

When James Hurtle Fisher sent in his resignation some of the leading colonists took alarm and made a public demonstration in his favour. They forwarded an address to him of which the following is an extract:—"We have this day heard that you have communicated to the Council appointed

by His Majesty for the Province your intention to resign your seat." They feared that if he withdrew "from so important a position in the Government of the Province that their interests and the general success of the great undertaking in which they had engaged would thereby be vitally affected."

The address was signed by Robert Gouger, Colonel Light, John Morphett, Edward Stephens, Thomas Gilbert, George S. Kingston, John Brown, Osmond Gilles, Charles Mann, Boyle Travers Finniss, Dr. Wyatt, Robert Thomas, and several others.

The fact that it was signed by several of the Government officials gave umbrage to the Governor, and at the earliest opportunity he informed Lord Glenelg of what had transpired.

The outcome of the address, forwarded by some of the leading colonists to the Resident Commissioner, was that he asked permission to withdraw his resignation. Governor Hindmarsh was not at all in favour of granting this request. Rightly or wrongly he regarded the whole transaction as "inspired"—as a "stroke of policy" directed against himself.

Ultimately the Resident Commissioner was allowed to do as he had requested, and once more took his seat at the Council table.

How the Governor and James Hurtle Fisher—men armed with equal authority—came into collision the following incident will show. Some of the colonists sent a memorial to the Resident Commissioner asking that certain improvements might be made at the Port, and that the Port might be proclaimed. Governor Hindmarsh regarded this as an encroachment upon his rights and those of the Executive Council. The memorial came into his hands. He stated that in addressing the Resident Commissioner and asking him that this work might be done all the officers of the Crown who had attached their names to the memorial had laid themselves open to censure.

Writing to His Excellency, in reply, George Strickland Kingston (Deputy-Surveyor) said that "acting under instructions from the Resident Commissioner he had for some time been engaged in preparing for the erection of a bridge over the Torrens." Having received no counter-orders from the Governor in relation to that work "he was necessarily led to consider the Resident Commissioner as the proper person to be applied to respecting similar public works."

In relation to the expression of censure upon the Crown officials who had signed the memorial Mr. Kingston said: "I

must refer you to the Act of Parliament for the establishment of the Colony, vesting in the Commissioners the power to appoint certain officers, and as I have been appointed by them in accordance with those powers I have to observe that I hold myself officially responsible only to the Board in London, the Resident Commissioner, and the Surveyor-General."

This was a sharp thrust at the Governor and he felt it keenly. As an officer of the Navy he had not been accustomed to this kind of treatment from subordinates.

Not only was he ignored by the Deputy-Surveyor, but that officer proceeded to advise and to reprimand him. "I cannot conclude," said he, "without expressing my surprise and regret that His Excellency should attempt to restrain the free expression of opinion by those who hold office in this colony, a line of policy which is at all times unwise and oppressive, and decidedly opposed to that liberal system of government which all those who understand the principles on which the colony is founded hoped would have been adopted here."

After reading this very free expression of opinion, with its subtle reflections upon the Governor, we are not surprised to find a reference in the Governor's despatch to the "insolence" of the Deputy-Surveyor.

Not only were there disputes between the Governor and some of the officials, but the officials themselves were not "a happy family." There was a street brawl between the Colonial Secretary (Robert Gouger) and the Colonial Treasurer (Osmond Gilles), which Governor Hindmarsh dealt with in a very prompt and firm manner.

Robert Gouger, whose temper was perhaps a little warm, deserves sympathy. In preparing the plans and in laying the foundations of the Province no one worked in a more praiseworthy manner than he. But his colonial experience was not at all happy. When Governor Hindmarsh was taking the oath of allegiance in the hut of Robert Gouger, and the hearts of the settlers were full of joy, Mrs. Gouger's condition was most critical. The day after the colony was proclaimed she gave birth to a son. Ere long both mother and child passed into the unseen. She died on March 14th, 1837, and the child the next day. In addition to this bereavement there were the official disagreements of which I have spoken.

The dispute between the Colonial Secretary and the Colonial Treasurer was investigated by the Governor. Robert Gouger was suspended. This, with the loss of his wife and child, preyed upon his mind. He decided to return to England and to lay his case before the Commissioners. This

he did, setting sail in the latter part of 1837. He was reinstated and left the Old Land for the colony in 1839. He arrived safely, but hard work and incessant worry told upon his mind and body to such an extent that he had to resign his office. In 1844 he returned to England, and died in 1846. No monument, as yet, has been raised to his memory, but no South Australian pioneer is worthier of honour than he. Our State will yet do him justice, and Colonel Torrens, too.

The pioneer schoolmaster (John Banks Shepherdson) has left on record a statement that throws light on these early days. After describing his arrival by the *Hartley* in 1837, he says: "In accordance with my instructions I got up a public meeting in a temporary erection which then did duty as Trinity Church, and the Governor, at my request, promised to take the chair. On the night appointed I proceeded to Government House to accompany His Excellency to the meeting, but on learning from me on our way down that James Hurtle Fisher, Charles Mann, and other of their friends were to take part in the proceedings (the establishment of a day-school) he declined to enter the place. After using all the persuasion of which I was capable he at length gave way, adding: 'Well, as Governor, I suppose I must countenance the thing, but as Jack Hindmarsh I'll do little.'"

As a consequence of the squabbles to which we have referred Governor Hindmarsh, before he had spent two years in the colony, was recalled. The Commissioners in England brought the following charges against him, all of them trumpery:—1. He had interfered with the site for the capital. 2. There was a delay in proclaiming the Port. 3. He had been guilty of an act of trespass and depredation because some of the sailors of the *Buffalo* had cut down some pines with which to make the necessary rafters for Government Hut." 4. He had presumed to complain because the Resident Commissioner had refused to allow a small patch of swampy ground on the river, near Government Hut, to be appropriated as part of the Government domain. 5. He had named places in the Province. 6. He had endangered the safety of the Province by rejecting the police force and the militia which the Commissioners proposed to supply. 7. He had drawn upon the Treasury and thrown the finances into disorder and embarrassment. Puerile as the charges were, the Governor had to go.

It was wise and well that he should do so. A judicial separation is sometimes an advantage in political as well as in domestic life. When the strain between contending parties

has reached a climax and there is no hope of reconciliation it is better for them to part. Governor Hindmarsh's position was an intolerable and impossible one. His despatches to the Crown were full of complaints about the disloyalty of his officials, their want of respect for his office, and the slights that he received. Probably his training as a naval officer was not really helpful to him in the very peculiar position that he was called upon to occupy. On board a vessel he might command and insist upon the deference that he felt to be his due. but not as the Governor of a body of earnest, intelligent, and determined men who had actually come to a vast country in search of freedom. There may have been a tendency to coerce rather than to conciliate. But without doubt there were also faults on the other side. The primary cause of all the trouble was the dualistic system of government with which the Province at its inception was cursed. The "squabbles" and the recall of Governor Hindmarsh served a useful end. They made evident to British statesmen the need for some change—some better order of things.

In a general sense Governor Hindmarsh served the Province well. He made himself one of the people and was highly esteemed. His farewell words recall the lofty tone of his proclamation: "If the colonists do themselves justice; if they respect the laws and attend to the ordinances of religion: if they continue the same habits of temperance and industry which have so happily prevailed, South Australia must realize the most ardent wishes of its friends and acquire in a few years a rank among the Provinces of the British Crown without example in colonial history."

On July 13th, 1838, a deputation of influential colonists waited on Governor Hindmarsh and presented him with an address. About 400 signatures were attached, and the speakers spoke highly of his services. Captain Hindmarsh was subsequently appointed Governor of Heligoland. In 1851 he was knighted by the Queen. He died in July, 1860, aged seventy-eight years. The populous suburb of Hindmarsh and Hindmarsh Square will keep him in perpetual remembrance.

When Governor Hindmarsh left the colony the population of Adelaide was nearly 4,000 souls. There were about 330 dwelling-houses of various descriptions, some of them very rude and shaky. About 100 acres in the embryo city were under culture as gardens and orchards. Native trees were still in the streets and on some of the squares. The bulk of

the population was in the city bounds, as the country sections had been available only about four months.

The price of a 2-lb. loaf of bread was 9d.; beef was from 10d. to 1s. per lb.; mutton and pork the same. Wages for labourers, from £1 10s. to £1 16s. per week; wages for mechanics, from £2 14s. to £4 10s. per week.

The following statistics may be accepted as approximately correct. They were taken from the pioneer Press:—

Population at end of 1837 ...	... 4,000	persons
Land under cultivation ...	... 200	acres
Sheep	... 28,000	
Cattle	... 2,500	
Horses	... 480	
Value of exports (about) ...	... £6,442	

George Milner Stephen.

Pending the arrival of the Governor appointed by the Crown, the Advocate-General (George Milner Stephen) acted as administrator. His position was one of great difficulty. There were no funds in the Treasury; officers in the Civil Service could not be paid; there were only eighteen policemen to keep order in a population of 4,000 persons. There were more prisoners in an insecure wooden gaol than policemen in the community. In addition to these misfortunes, desperate characters—runaway convicts—had found their way to the New Settlement. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, Mr. Stephen discharged the duties of his office with great credit, and contributed to the revenue out of his private resources. When his vice-regal duties came to an end he took the position of Colonial Secretary. Later he went to England to pursue his legal studies, and in 1845 was admitted to the English Bar. Subsequently he sailed for New South Wales and finally settled in Victoria. George M. Stephen became famous as a faith-healer. He died in 1894 in Victoria at an advanced age.

From the foregoing paragraph it will be seen that the financial troubles that became so accentuated in Governor Gawler's time began during the administration of Governor Hindmarsh. He had detained twenty marines from the *Buffalo* to act as police. In 1838 these were taken away by a man-o'-war, and Governor Hindmarsh had to advance their salaries, amounting to £43. The public Treasury was empty and the Governor had to advance the money out of his own pocket. When he left for England the salaries of

the officers of the Crown were not paid. He expressed the fear that he would have to draw bills on the Home authorities to meet colonial liabilities.

Governor Gawler.

The next representative of the Crown to take up his residence at Government Hut—still a mud cottage—was Colonel George Gawler. He had been in the Peninsula campaign, in which he was wounded, and had fought with great gallantry under Wellington at Waterloo. He was recommended to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on public grounds alone. An officer of the army informed Colonel Torrens that Colonel Gawler "was one of the best officers in the army," adding, "I cannot conceive it possible that Gawler should do a foolish thing." He arrived in the colony on October 12th, 1838. With the advent of Governor Gawler the divided authority in the young community came to an end. The services of a Resident Commissioner were dispensed with and the duties of the office vested in the Governor.

Governor Gawler had a loyal reception. On October 17th about a thousand persons went down the Glenelg track to meet him. Many were on foot and some mounted on horses. The immigrants assembled in front of Government Hut, North Terrace, many of the Onkaparinga and Cowandilla tribe of natives being present. The customary oaths were taken and a deputation of leading colonists presented an address.

Two or three weeks after Governor Gawler's arrival the aborigines had a festive day—such a day as they never before or perhaps afterwards experienced. The Governor gave them a feast. The settlers as well as the natives turned out *en masse*. The picnic ground was a picturesque spot to the east of Government Hut. Rounds of roast beef as well as rice, biscuits, and sugar and tea were provided. The natives prepared themselves for the occasion and came adorned with tassels and ribbons.

About 200 men with their lubras and piccaninnies attended. After the settlers had given them three hearty cheers, the Governor addressed them as follows: —

"Black men! We wish to make you happy. But you cannot be happy unless you imitate good white men, build huts, wear clothes, work, and be useful. Above all things, you cannot be happy unless you love God, who made heaven and earth and men and all things. Love white men. Love other tribes of black men. Do not quarrel together. Tell other tribes to love white men, and to build

good huts and to wear clothes. Learn to speak English. If any white man injure you tell the Protector, and he will do you justice."

The tribe of aborigines to which these words were addressed has long since become extinct. It may interest some readers if we give part of the Governor's speech as it was interpreted to the natives by their Protector. It will at least be a memorial of a tongue that has ceased to exist, and of a tribe of natives that the world will no more see: —

Boollyona mayoo! Touara Peendingga mayoo Governor ninko nutta wongan. Peende mayoo boollyona mayoo touara wingoo. Turkere mocherta, arache tonke, perro maiimbe yungon. Boollyona mayoo, burkonna mayoo pannyape, komante icherle. Peende mayoo touannin, ponggareen, condan, wirilla koni icho werlingga.

Black men! Great Englishman Governor you now speak. Englishman black men very much love. Constantly shirts, plenty clothing, flesh food give. Black men, white men brothers, one Father. Englishmen quarrel with you, fight, strike, quickly come my house.

After the speech a circle was formed and the blacks sat down. The roast beef was carved and handed round. The tea was poured out. No doubt, from what we know of the native character, they did more than justice to the good things provided. Rugs, blankets, frocks, caps were distributed among them. The natives then gave an exhibition of their skill in throwing the spear. Whether they had eaten too much or the excitement unnerved them we cannot say, but tradition affirms that the spear-throwing was a very poor display. Laden with spoil—the fragments of the feast —men, lubras, and piccaninnies returned to their wurlies. No wonder that the natives ever afterwards regarded Governor Gawler as "a bery good tuck-out Guvnor."

Governor Gawler's legislative policy was on a par with the feast he gave to the blacks. It was "bold and comprehensive." The salaries of the Civil Servants were raised. Roads were constructed. Government House—a large and well-appointed building—took the place of Government Hut. A gaol, custom-house, and hospital sprang into existence. There was a tendency on the part of many of the immigrants to hang round the city, the consequence being a number of unemployed, for whom the Governor felt it to be his duty to make provision. The provision made intensified the evil. The Government works begun in and round the city, and works of a private nature, led to centralization on a vaster

scale. In 1840 a large population was settled in Adelaide and its vicinty. There were seventy public-houses in the municipality, and the working classes scouted the idea of going into the country.

From a report that Governor Gawler laid before the Executive Council of work done in 1839 the following is taken:—Signal posts at Glenelg and on West Terrace. The clearing of the parkland of the huts which were erected on it by the early settlers. The clearing of a large number of the streets of Adelaide of trees and stumps. The erection of a wooden bridge across the Torrens, part of the expense being defrayed by private contributions. The clearing of great lines of road from Onkaparinga, through Willunga, to Encounter Bay, Currency Creek, and Yankalilla. The Immigration Depot (a collection of wooden buildings erected only two and a half years) had required an outlay of £700 to put in tolerable repair. Under the heading "Aborigines" the Governor said: "The daily support of 120 men, women, and children, even though it consists but of biscuits or rice and sugar, becomes a large item. There have also been erected in connection with this department two houses for German missionaries, a schoolmaster's residence, and five neat cottages for the natives of Adelaide; and a house for a missionary at Encounter Bay and a large-sized building for a schoolhouse and hospital are also in course of construction at Adelaide." In connection with the police department it was stated that the conduct of immigrants from England had been very creditable, but a large number of persons who had been transported to other colonies had found their way to South Australia. To preserve the public from offences of this class and to keep the natives in check, a good police force was necessary. Connected with the police were the keepers of the parklands. Six men at first were necessary to preserve the parklands from the depredations of dishonest persons. In connection with the customs and harbours department the Governor stated that good work had been done. In 1838 only a part of the plain of Adelaide was surveyed, about 4 miles to the north and 7 miles to the south. The remainder of the country, with a few exceptions, was not only unsurveyed, but positively unknown. A great advance had been made. Mr. Pullen had sounded all the different channels between Lake Alexandrina and the coast of Encounter Bay. The harbours of Streaky, Smoky, and Denial Bays had been surveyed and sounded, and a chart of them sent to the Commissioners.

Said the Governor, after his résumé: "I foresaw distinctly that efforts made on a large scale for extensive public objects must involve the risk of considerable irregularity, but the danger would not be sufficient reason for limiting the police force and thereby allowing the town to be overrun by depredators and the country with bushrangers, or for keeping the survey at a low establishment and preventing land purchasers from entering on their sections for ruinous and incalculable periods. I saw the risk of irregularities and encountered it. I have no objection to say that risks have occurred, but they have been very small in proportion to the benefit effected. It would be strange indeed if the Province had passed from what it was sixteen months ago to what it now is without them. It appears to me that the state of the Province affords most striking evidence of the propriety of the financial course which its Government has pursued. There is not in the history of the world an instance in which after little more than three years from the foundation any colony, at a great distance from its parent State, has attained to the same high degree of peace, order, and prosperity as that in which this Province now stands. Three years and a half ago the spot on which we are now standing was a desert unknown to Europeans. Now we are surrounded by a prosperous and, to a considerable extent, handsome city. Our principal streets are lined with well-filled warehouses and shops and crowded by all the attendants of active traffic. Our port which a few years since was an unknown salt water creek, covered only by water fowl and enclosed in a mangrove swamp, is now filled with large shipping from Europe, India, and the neighbouring colonies. The swamp is traversed by a substantial road, and handsome wharves and warehouses are rising on its borders. The neighbourhood of the capital is studded with numerous and populous suburbs and villages, while the more distant country is rapidly assuming in population that healthy and natural proportion which it ought to bear to the metropolis." [19]

Yes, as the Governor stated, roads were being made, harbours surveyed and sounded, public buildings erected, but agriculture was neglected. It is from the soil that men have to draw their sustenance, and the settlers were erecting buildings when they ought to have been tilling the land. In the year 1840 the enormous sum of £277,000 was sent out of

[19] It is interesting to note that amongst the items of Colonel Gawler's expenditure were "four 18-lb. carronades," with the explanatory note: "These were purchased when the alarm of a maritime war and its consequences to small colonies were great."

the colony to procure the necessaries of life. Large areas of land were being bought for purely speculative purposes. In addition to this the tide of immigration was too strong. Money received by the sale of waste lands, instead of being employed partly in public works reproductive in their nature, was spent in bringing out emigrants. There might have been wisdom in such legislation if a large proportion of the emigrants had been capitalists. But such was not the case: they were men and women without means.

The difficulties of Governor Gawler's position and how the shadows were gathering round him is very evident from his letters to the Commissioners in England. Shortly after his arrival he wrote stating that he found the establishment of public offices in the colony beyond what was represented to him in England, but he was persuaded that he must not only retain but probably increase the number. The population, trade, commerce, and sales of land were much greater than was anticipated in England. In his first year he had to draw about £2,000 over the amount specified by the Commissioners, and the third quarter's salaries were still due. The Treasury was absolutely empty, and public debts to a considerable amount had been incurred. The Governor stated that urgent demands were being made for payment. He assured the Commissioners that on his part care and exertion would not be spared in the financial interests of the colony, but he needed more money. "I must," he said, "surpass my instructions and look to England for considerable unauthorized pecuniary assistance." With liberal and judicious management he believed the colony would, "under God's blessing," prosper "as none other had ever prospered before it."

Later on he wrote saying: "The affairs of the Province at this moment are involved in the most aggravated and complicated difficulties. I do not wish to make my situation appear worse than it is when I say I do not think it possible that a Governor of a colony could be placed in more trying circumstances than mine. On arrival here I found the public offices with scarcely a pretension to system: every man did as he would, and got on as he could. There were scarcely any records of past proceedings, of public accounts, or of issue of stores. The Survey Department was reduced to the Deputy-Surveyor, one draughtsman, and one assistant surveyor: its instruments, to a great extent unserviceable, and its office with scarcely any maps of the country, and totally without system, records, or regulations. Scarcely any settlers in the country: no tillage: very little sheep or cattle pasturing: the two leading places (Holdfast Bay

and the Old Port) of the most indifferent description; the expense of transit to and from them most ruinous; the population—shut up in Adelaide—existing principally upon the unhealthy and uncertain profits of land-jobbing: capital flowing out for the necessaries of life almost as fast as it was brought in by passengers from England; the colonial finances in a state of thorough confusion and defalcation; the salaries of the public officers so small in proportion to the high rate of wages and provisions that they could not live upon them. The acting judge, upon the half salary of his office, was living without a servant and boarding with the Clerk of the Court. New buildings of every kind were wanted." The Governor affirmed that his own household and office accommodation was of the most straitened and inconvenient description.

Later on he tells the Commissioners how the state of the finances, and the inadequacy of the sum allowed for quarterly expenditure, and the impossibility of complying with many of the Commissioners' most prominent instructions were most deeply harassing to his feelings.

When appointed to his position Governor Gawler had received authority from the Commissioners to draw upon them for the sum of £10,000 per annum for the general expenses of his administration. He had permission to draw more largely in case of emergency. These sums were independent of what was raised in the colony by duties on wines and spirits and publicans' and auctioneers' licences. The editor of the pioneer Press stated that during the first year only of Governor Gawler's administration the revenue from these sources produced nearly £18,000. Not only were all the resources at the hands of the Governor exhausted, but there was an additional expenditure exceeding £200,000.

On August 26th, 1840, the Commissioners in England wrote a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord John Russell) explaining the position. Referring to Governor Gawler they said: "That officer, we understand, has always borne a high character. In his government he appears to have displayed many qualities deserving of great respect. He has shown, in trying circumstances, both firmness and moderation. He put an end to dissensions which previous to his arrival had distracted the colony. There are many other indications of his possessing a faculty of exercising a beneficial influence over the public mind. We cannot doubt that he has been animated with a sincere desire to improve the organization of the public departments.

All these merits we gladly concede to Colonel Gawler. But upon subjects of finance he appears to us to have totally erred in judgment. There is one other personal topic to which we must still more reluctantly allude. It is a very painful one. When the new Commissioners [20] entered upon their duties South Australia enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most flourishing of recent British settlements. Almost within six months afterwards it devolves on us to exhibit the colony in a state of crisis and to show the probable defeat of that experiment of self-support which has been watched by numerous persons with so much interest and so many good wishes. It is beyond all dispute that this unhappy change can in no way be traced to any act or influence of the new Board." The Commissioners asked that the Government would afford them guidance and support in the difficulty in which they found themselves. They asked for immediate directions as to the course they should pursue in relation to the bills which had been drawn upon them. They were afraid that all the funds at their disposal would be exhausted.

They made various suggestions for the better government of the Province. Among others were the following:—The diminution of expenditure; a fixed acreable fee for survey purposes, to be charged on each grant of land so that the purchaser, and not the revenue, would bear the cost of survey; no further financial claim to be made for a police force: imposition of land tax; the colonists to have some efficient control over the colonial expenditure. At the earliest period they should have the privilege of self-government. The boundaries of South Australia should be enlarged so as to take in a part of the Port Phillip (Victorian) district.

Lord John Russell's reply was that as soon as Parliament met the Government would try to appoint a committee of enquiry into the state and prospects of the finances of South Australia, and the proper course to be taken in the direction of relieving necessities. In the meantime he suggested that holders of the bills should be informed that they could not be accepted, and that no pledge could be given for the future acceptance or payment of them, and that the most peremptory instructions should be given to Governor Gawler requiring him to confine the public expenditure within the limits of the local revenue.

[20] At the beginning of 1840 a new commission for South Australia was appointed by the British Government. The first Commissioners, who with one exception had served gratuitously, were set aside. Three salaried Commissioners were now appointed—Colonel Torrens (Chairman), T. F. Elliot, and E. Villiers.

This could not be considered satisfactory. Repudiation of debts would tend to wreck the colony. The Commissioners made further representations to the British Government. It was necessary that something should be done immediately, before Parliament met. The Government consented to guarantee a loan of £120,000 till Parliament could meet. Even with the Government guarantee the loan could not be negotiated. The credit of the colony was gone. The Government then refused to take any more steps without the consent of Parliament.

The total indebtedness of the colony was £294,000, made up as follows:—Due to persons in England, £56,000; dishonoured bills, £97,000; due to Emigration Fund (money taken from the fund to meet liabilities), £56,000; public debt of the colony (part of the £200,000 that the Commissioners were authorized by the Act to borrow), £85,000 = £294,000. These figures were taken by me from Parliamentary Papers to which I had access in the Old Country. They were supplied by one of the Commissioners to the Parliamentary Select Committee which sat upon South Australian affairs in 1841.

In 1841 intelligence was conveyed to the colony that Governor Gawler's unauthorized bills had been dishonoured by the Commissioners in England. Ruin stared the colony in the face. Its financial credit was gone. Colonists and capitalists were deterred from coming to its shores. There was general bankruptcy and great distress. One of our pioneer builders (Sir Henry Ayers) who was in the colony at the time, speaking many years afterwards, said: "The privation of the settlers was severe and everything seemed to be at its lowest. The loss of capital incurred in founding the colony cannot be estimated; but it must have been very considerable, inasmuch as nearly all those engaged in the importation and distribution of merchandise, with many others, were ruined."

The Commissioners in England cast the responsibility for the disaster upon the Governor. The latter pleaded the peculiar exigencies of his position, and the permission given to him by the Commissioners to make special drafts upon them in cases of emergency. In his defence addressed to Lord John Russell he said: "I considered it 'emergency' when the Survey Department could not keep nearly up to the demand, when the police was not sufficient to repress bushrangers and other lawless characters, to control the natives and to check contraband trade; 'emergency' when public officers of value were leaving their situations on account of the insufficiency of their salaries, and were trading and really plundering the

Government on what they called authorized principle; 'emergency' when the Survey and Land Offices were burned down and there was not a public office belonging to the Government in Adelaide, and none of reasonable permanent usefulness to be hired: 'emergency' when, with an increasing pressure of business and harassment of all kinds upon me, I, my wife and family, Secretary, office, and servants, were limited during the day to a mud cottage 50 ft. by 27 ft.: and 'emergency' when, with a really beautiful natural port, commerce was suffering almost indescribable hindrances from the difficulties of landing in a broad mangrove swamp. Many others could be justly enumerated; but these (in addition to immigrant sickness and destitution) are the great and leading objects which have been to my fullest conviction 'emergencies,' and which have absorbed the greater part of the extraordinary expenditure."

Governor Gawler was recalled. His expenditure had, indeed, been lavish. Take, for example, the building of the Adelaide Gaol. Of this Sir Henry Ayers said: "The one I found on my arrival was certainly not adapted to the end in view—the safekeeping of prisoners. It consisted of a tent with an airing ground in front, enclosed with a rope, round which one or two turnkeys patrolled, armed with a Brown Bess musket. But while it will be acknowledged that this accommodation was altogether inadequate for the purpose, there was no need why the other extreme should have been adopted. High walls and strong doors were doubtless necessary, but no angle towers, surmounted with cut-stone embattlements, the stone alone costing 42s. per cube foot to work, while for other services artisans were paid from £3 18s. to £4 4s. per week, and the cost generally was greatly enhanced from the high price of labour and unforeseen contingencies that it brought ruin upon a most respectable firm of contractors, and involved the colony in debt for years afterwards."

But posterity must be charitable. The difficulties of Governor Gawler's position, as I have pointed out, were great. The founding of South Australia was quite an experiment in colonization on the Wakefield system, and the governing powers were the other side of the world. To a certain extent Governor Gawler was the victim of circumstances. Immigration (especially of persons without capital) was too fast: and the new settlers, without means, needed work. Public improvements were urgently required. Governor Gawler had great faith in the resources of the colony, and he boldly launched out, trusting to a future development to meet the liabilities incurred. When the stress was most

severe he believed that if he had a free hand he could steer through the storm. It was not safe legislation, it is true; but the money was not recklessly thrown away. The improvements made were not temporary, but substantial. He built not merely for the present, but for the future. Perhaps the larger outlay at the beginning in the long run was the wiser and cheaper. In nation-building, as well as in domestic affairs, it is possible to be "penny wise and pound foolish." He was an able and energetic officer: a Christian man who set a high ideal before the early settlers, and who himself strove to give practical expression to the same. He was beloved by the people, who, out of their diminished resources, presented him with £500 as an expression of their esteem. Such was his regard for the colony and faith in its ultimate prosperity that he left the sum to be invested in land on his own account.

Of Governor Gawler, David McLaren, of whom we shall have to speak, said: "One of the best of men, one of the most upright, conscientious, and intelligent public men I have ever had the honour of meeting."

He was very strict in his religious views. Every morning and evening the family were called together, and there was the practical recognition of an overruling Providence. Sunday was strictly observed. Neither the Governor nor Lady Gawler approved of dancing, and in place of balls dinner parties were given.

The spirit in which Governor Gawler laboured in building up the young Commonwealth is to be seen in one of his farewell addresses. The descendants of the pioneers to-day should lay his wise words to heart. The truth they symbolize lies at the foundation of national stability and prosperity. The pioneer Methodists had presented to him a farewell address. Replying to the deputation, among other things he said:

"I most sincerely pray that God, in His faithfulness and power, may preserve and extend the pure and simple doctrines of His Word among yourselves and every denomination in South Australia, knowing as I do that there is no other permanent foundation for individual or public prosperity. The harmony that has hitherto existed among the Christian bodies of this colony has been a most pleasing subject of contemplation. I sincerely pray also that this may long continue, and that men who hold the sound doctrines of the Gospel, without being loose to forms, may keep them in their proper places as shadows and not the substance of religion, and exercise forbearance in regard to those who, in

these things differ from them. If I were to leave a parting sentence to such men of all denominations it should be—See that ye fall not out by the way. As long as sound Christian doctrines are extensively known and practised, and harmony among those who hold them is maintained, there will be no reason to fear for South Australia."

The aborigines keenly felt his departure. Through their missionaries (C. G. Teichelmann and S. G. Close), with their Protector (Dr. M. Moorhouse) they presented him with the following address:—

"Us, the chest beats at his absence. Our commander, he did sit; on his side we did sit. For us he did contend. He us did hide from the white men who insulted. Lament we at his absence. He at us well did look. Our father he did sit; regarding food, meat, clothing. Food, clothing, he us did give. Land for food he gave us back. Schoolhouse he for the children of us did build. Words to learn as white children."

The address was written in the native tongue, the above being a translation.

On June 22nd, 1841, a farewell meeting was held at Government House. James Hurtle Fisher presented an address to Governor Gawler. He spoke of "the unfeigned gratification" that the Governor must feel to see "his efforts for the advancement of the Province so highly appreciated by an intelligent, thinking, and influential community." In reply Colonel Gawler spoke of the pain that it gave him to leave the colony in such an unsettled condition. He hoped that agriculture and sound commercial pursuits would take the place of speculation, and urged the colonists to stand by the principles revealed in the Bible as a sure basis in times of prosperity and adversity. After the company had dispersed a number of gentlemen on horseback accompanied the Governor and his family to Port Adelaide, where a final farewell was spoken. He passed away in May, 1869, aged seventy-three years, his name being perpetuated in the flourishing town of Gawler and the Gawler Ranges.

Some useful legislation was passed in Governor Gawler's time. Among other Acts there was one to "Regulate the Retail of Liquors and to Preserve Good Order in Public-houses." Public-houses were to be closed all day on Sunday, except from 1.30 to 3 o'clock in the afternoon. They had to close at 10 o'clock each evening. There was need for such legislation in the young community, for drunkenness was the besetting sin of many.

It was Governor Gawler who called into existence a mounted police force that did splendid service. Prior to his arrival the colony was drifting into anarchy. Internal strife and the influx of bad characters from penal settlements jeopardized society. The mounted police force that Governor Gawler created consisted of some of the bravest men and best riders that ever sat in a saddle. In passing I may mention Inspectors Inman and Tolmer and Sergeant-Major Alford. They checkmated the bushrangers and cattle-raiders, and taught the blacks to respect the lives and property of the early settlers.

Sir Charles Cooper, a worthy nation-builder, came to the Province during the administration of Governor Gawler. He was sent out by the Colonization Commissioners to take the position of Judge made vacant by the death of Sir John Jeffcott. For many years Judge Cooper was a prominent figure among the early settlers. In addition to valuable services rendered as judge, he took an interest in the social life of the people. In 1856 he visited England and was knighted by the Queen. Returning to the Province, he discharged the duties of his office for some years, and then resigning his position received a pension. He returned to England and died at Bath in May, 1887, having attained a fine old age. Cooper's Creek, in the Far North, is named after him.

It was during Governor Gawler's time that the first steamer arrived from London—the *Courier*.

SOCIAL REVERSES AND SUCCESSES.



Ernest Gall, Photo.

NATIVE LUBRA AND PICCANINNY.

CHAPTER XI.

SOCIAL REVERSES AND SUCCESSES.

In addition to financial reverses there were many other burdens that the pioneers had to bear. In the building up of a strong and vigorous nation adversity seems to be a necessity. An old book says that "no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheless, afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness to them who are exercised thereby." There is a social and general beside a spiritual and individual application of this principle. Adverse circumstances furnish discipline; they develop thrift, caution, energy, determination, and self-reliance. Nations as well as individuals have more to fear in times of great prosperity than in seasons of adversity.

Perhaps this is the most fitting place in which to speak a word of warning, especially as Australian Federation is now an accomplished fact. It is a great nation that we desire to see in these southern lands, and such a consummation is to be realized only by individual effort. Visionaries may conceive ideals; Senators may pass laws; the strong arm of the law may compel changes in the social system; but neither of these nor all combined can make a nation determined, energetic, masculine, and self-reliant. It is individual character that constitutes and conditions national character. One of the most effective ways of teaching a lad to swim is to put him in deep water and let him struggle to keep himself afloat. So to develop what is best in men in a psychological sense it is necessary to cast them upon their own resources—let them boldly grapple with difficulties and contend with adverse circumstances. It is just here that Governments are in danger of making a mistake. It is possible to so pamper and coddle a people as to take the backbone out of them.

With the humanitarian spirit that is abroad to-day I am in full sympathy. In many directions there is urgent need for reforms. Monopolies that enrich a few at the expense of many must be broken down. Property in land must become as widely diffused as is consistent with a comfortable living. Wealth must pay its fair share to the revenue. But men must not be taught to depend upon the State as a lame man does upon crutches. It must not

be regarded as a kind of wet-nurse from whose prolific breasts the improvident and lazy may draw. Henry George has truly said that it is natural to man to seek to satisfy his wants with the least exertion. The State must not encourage this tendency. The highest type of national manhood can be attained only by individual effort. Legislation that has a tendency to relax individual effort will have a relaxing tendency all round; it will lead to national emasculation. Human nature is fearfully and wonderfully made—it needs discipline. The ideal that some social reformers have set before them—that of giving to every person "an easy and comfortable living"—if realized might be one of the greatest disasters that ever befell humanity. Where there is little effort—no battles to fight, no foes to conquer, no difficulties to surmount—there will often be mental, moral, and material degeneration.

It is grappling with difficulties, contending with adverse circumstances, that made our pioneer fathers and mothers the men and women they were. Look at some of the difficulties they had to face. They came to a wilderness. Before their advent cosmic forces held undisputed sway. The South Australian blackfellow had no genius for cultivation. He never disturbed the earth unless it were to search (as the rabbit does) for native roots that were edible. Why should he trouble to clear the forest or to till the ground? The country abounded with game. The River Murray and the ocean that lapped the shore teemed with fish. At almost any hour of the day he could take spear, boomerang, or net, and secure abundance of food for his lubras and piccaninnies. He simply ate, hunted, and slept, and had little more idea of agriculture than had the kangaroo. Vast tracts of land were covered with dense scrub and primeval forests. These had to be cleared before they could be put under the spade or plough of the pioneers. The means of transit were slow and very defective. Nature was not always propitious. Water in many places was scarce.

The beautiful city of Adelaide to-day was in primitive times a forlorn sort of place. In summer the dust at times was almost unendurable. In winter roads and footpaths were well-nigh impassable. From written statements handed down by pioneers we can faithfully picture the scene. The roads were marked out but not made. There were few horses, and the heavy traffic was done by bullocks in drays. In winter time the highways and byways were sadly cut up. Looking back to these far-off times, that will never again return, we can see bullock drays slowly ploughing their

way through the water and through the mud. Here and there the track is so bad that the teams encroach upon what are intended to be footpaths. A lady describing her experiences in Adelaide in pioneer times complained that "in wet and muddy times" the bullock drivers "unceremoniously drove their drays on both footpaths, to the danger and annoyance of the pedestrians, particularly the ladies," and "as the weakest usually go to the wall" she herself "had frequently to plunge ankle-deep in the road to escape being gored or run over." The footpaths were also "obstructed by bakers' carts and the German people's goat carts." There was a joke in Adelaide in the early days about an immigrant who saw a man's hat in the road. He went to pick it up. Down below he heard a muffled and mysterious voice saying that the hat belonged to him. The immigrant expressed sorrow that the man should have sunken so low. The reply was that not only was he buried in the mud, but under him was his horse.

It was difficult sometimes to get labourers. One of our old pioneers (Dr. Everard), who came out the year the colony was founded, and who became a member of the First Parliament, writing to a relative in England in 1837, said: "I have ten acres in the town. . . . I am now (with William's assistance only) felling and grubbing up the trees upon one acre preparatory to building my town house. I have lost my labourer. He would not work for me longer, although I had agreed to give him 12s. per week. . . . . In England he did not earn on an average more than 6s. per week, and did not taste meat from one week's end to the other; but here he got meat every day, and less than a bottle of rum per day was not enough for him. Honest, sober, industrious labourers are much wanted here."

All over the colony the natives were treacherous; but the more warlike and dangerous were the tribes along the River Murray. Many of them were fine big men, bold and vigorous. Both to the north and south-east of the New Settlement the natives had a conception of the supernatural. No doubt the famous corroboree was originally a religious festival. Take the Narrinyeri tribe of natives, who were located in the South-East, more especially round the lower part of the River Murray. Of these the Rev. George Taplin said: "They call the Supreme Being by two names—Nurundere and Martummere. He is said to have made all things on the earth and to have given to men the weapons of war and hunting. Nurundere established all the rights and ceremonies which were practised by the aborigines, whether connected with life or

death. On enquiring why they adhere to any custom the reply is, 'Because Nurundere commanded it.'" The Narrinyeri tribe had some conception of an after-life. The Rev. H. E. A. Meyer, who laboured among them in the very early days, has left on record one of their legends:—"Nurunduri [21] removed with his children to a great distance towards the west, where he still lives, a very old man. When he went away one of his children was asleep, and, in consequence, left behind. Nurunduri, when he arrived at the place at which he intended to remain, missed him, and, making fast one end of a string to his maralengk, he threw the other end towards where he supposed his son to be, who, catching hold of it, helped himself along to his father. This line is still the guide by which the dead find their way to Nurunduri. Old people become young and the infirm sound in the presence of Nurunduri."

The Narrinyeri tribe had their rain- and disease-makers, and were pronounced believers in sorcery. Disease was generally regarded as the effect of sorcery. They had peculiar marriage customs, and were often guilty of infanticide. A peculiar practice was making the youths of the tribe "young men," an interesting rite, barbarous in the extreme. Probably the object was to make the young men hardy. Our authority is the Rev. George Taplin: "The matted hair was combed or torn out with the point of a spear. The moustache and great part of the beard was plucked out by the roots. This was done three times while the long initiation lasted. For three days and three nights they were not allowed to eat or drink. For several months the luxury of a drinking vessel was denied to them. When thirsty they had to drink water by sucking it through a reed. During the whole period, which lasted some months, they were forbidden to eat any food which belonged to the women, and from partaking of twenty different kinds of game. Only the animals which were most difficult to obtain were allowed to them, no doubt with the object of making them expert hunters."

They had a strange way of disposing of the dead. Having concluded that sorcery was the cause of death the nearest relation slept with his head on the corpse, so that he might dream who the sorcerer was. The body was then placed over a slow fire for a day or two until the outer skin was blistered. This outer skin and the hair was then removed. All the apertures of the body were then sewn up. It was rubbed with grease and red ochre, and set up naked on a stage in-

[21] He gives the spelling of the word a little differently from that of Rev. G. Taplin.

side the wurley. A slow fire was placed under the corpse in order to dry it. The relatives lived, ate, drank, and slept in the presence of this putrefying mass. When dried it was wrapped up in mats and kept in the wurley.

Leaving the tribes located in the south-east of the New Settlement, and travelling to the Far North, there was the same conception of the supernatural and belief in a future state, though expressed in a different way. The natives had religious festivals, at which they sought for material good. The source of our information is the record of Lutheran missionaries who spent some time among them. "Their gods did not live together, nor even in the same locality. Malbonga lived in their heavenly Paradise, or Laia. He once made a journey to the neighbourhood where the tribe is located, and founded it. After death it was believed their souls would follow Malbonga to Laia." The after-life was simply a prolongation, so to speak, of the life that now is, but on a fuller scale. Laia was a locality in which fruit and food were to be had in abundance. There was the same fear of sorcery and disembodied spirits as in the south-east of the colony. The dead in this tribe were buried. In some other parts of the Far North they were placed upon frameworks and left exposed to sun, wind, and rain until all the flesh had disappeared.

These children of the bush, of whom I have given a passing description, gave the early settlers much trouble.

Not long after the establishment of the colony a shepherd was tending sheep within 7 miles of the small city. He was assailed by the natives, struck down with a waddy, and speared in the breast. Inspector Inman and others traced the supposed murderers to Lyndoch Valley, and finally arrested them at the Para River. They were found guilty and condemned to death. A scaffold was erected on the North Parklands, and the criminals, overwhelmed with terror, were placed upon it. Many of the natives were present to witness the execution. After the death penalty had been inflicted there was loud lamentation—weeping and wailing—in the native wurlies. This was the first execution of natives in the primitive community.

The early settlers were dependent upon the older colonies for their meat supply. When the New Settlement had been in existence only about fourteen months Joseph Hawdon discovered an overland route to South Australia.[22] He brought over a mob of cattle and horses. Others soon followed, in-

[22] See Chapter VIII.

cluding the explorers Edward J. Eyre and Captain Charles Sturt. These overland trips were difficult and dangerous. In 1841 Messrs. H. Inman and H. Field were leading an overland party in charge of sheep for the New Settlement. For many miles the blacks—the Murray tribe—were very troublesome. On the way Mr. Inman was wounded by a spear. At the River Darling several of the sheep were speared. The blacks followed the party to Lake Bonney. In the vicinity of the lake thirty or forty natives were seen. There were many more under cover in the bush, all armed with spears, shields, and waddies and bent upon mischief. This was evident from the attempt they made to conceal their weapons from view in the long grass. They tried to make friends with the small party of whites, but were warned off without violence. They disappeared, but farther down the track again made their appearance. It was clear to the travelling party that the natives intended to make an attack. Firearms were examined. Four horsemen rode to the front. As they approached the natives shouted, struck their waddies together, and prepared to dispute the advance of the whites. A halt was made, the sheep were rounded up, and the whole party gathered round a dray. Mr. Inman was able to do but little. On the morning of the attack a piece of barbed spear about 7 in. long was taken out of his back. It had been there for nearly seven weeks. Command was given to Mr. Field. A slow fire from three or four fowling pieces went on from the dray. Unfortunately the rest of the firearms were so bad that they would not discharge. Emboldened by the ineffectual shooting, the natives encircled the party. They rushed on them from all quarters. Two shepherds were speared at the dray, and one of them the blacks carried off. The rest of the party, after struggling for some time, seeing such a large force against them and their firearms useless, retreated through the scrub. Mr. Field, who did his utmost to save the sheep, endeavoured to bring the men back to the rescue. But it was useless. The natives were in full possession of the field. The whole party retreated, and Mr. Field conducted them through the scrub till they reached the Murray. The shepherd who was carried off by the natives, and left by them as dead, recovered. He had seven wounds on his body, and had nothing to sustain life for five days but the tongue of a dog. The whole party barely escaped with their lives. It was the sheep more than the men that the natives desired to secure.

A party of gentlemen under Mr. Field set out to try to recover the sheep, as well as to teach the blacks a lesson.

As they drew near Lake Bonney a large number of armed natives were concealed in the scrub. Mr. Field and his company formed in a line and rode toward them. At the same time the natives approached within forty yards. The chief gave the signal for attack by sticking his spear in the ground and waving his hand. They then sounded their war-cry and commenced throwing spears. The first man who threw a spear Mr. Field shot through the head. He then gave the order for the others to fire, thinking that when a few of the blacks fell the others would retreat. But such was not the case. On they came, in the form of a crescent. There were about 200, and others were concealed in the scrub. Mr. Field ordered his party to try to outflank the natives on the right. While effecting this one of the settlers' horses fell over a tree and the rider was thrown. The party wheeled round to protect him. One of the horses was now wounded with a spear and unable to carry its rider any farther. The man then mounted behind another settler. The battle had now lasted more than half an hour. Several of the blacks had fallen. Mr. Field gave the order to retreat. A spear struck him in the fore part of the head, but as it passed through a thick tarpaulin hat the wound was slight. The horse that he rode was speared in the shoulder. Each time they secured an advantage the natives gave a yell of triumph. The party retreated for a mile, and then halted to sew up the wound in the horse ridden by Mr. Field. All escaped with their lives, but the sheep were not recovered, nor were the blacks taught a salutary lesson.

It was not only along the Murray that the native tribes were fierce and treacherous, but also on the west coast of the new Province. When opportunity offered they spared neither children nor adults. In previous chapters we have spoken of Port Lincoln. Here a small settlement had been formed. A short distance from Port Lincoln there was a pioneer sheep station, where a lad was one day left at a hut while his elder brother went into the port. The lad was only twelve years of age. A band of natives put in an appearance. They surrounded the hut in which the lad was, demanding something to eat. He gave them bread and rice. The boy was a brave little fellow. Seeing that they were determined to enter the hut and probably pillage it he went outside, fastened the door, and took up a position in front of it, armed with a gun and sword. Two jagged spears were thrown at him, which entered his breast. He shot one of the natives, who fell, but got up again and ran away. The natives then retired, but returned, and showed signs of throw-

ing another spear; but the gun in the lad's hand kept them away. The poor boy remained with two spears, 7 ft. long, sticking in his breast. He tried to cut and saw them off, but failed to do so. He then sat upon the ground, and put the ends of the spears in the fire, to try to burn them off. In this position he was found at 10 o'clock at night upon the return of his brother. He had been speared eleven hours. The brother sawed the ends of the spears off, put the lad on a horse, and took him into Port Lincoln. The wounds proved fatal. A monument has been erected at Port Lincoln to his memory.

Yet another outrage must be recorded. In 1840 tidings were conveyed to Adelaide that a number of white people who had escaped from a wreck had been murdered by the blacks. The wreck had occurred on the coast near Lacepede Bay. At this time the country was little known. However, under instructions from Governor Gawler a search party was organized, among whom were three blacks of Encounter Bay. The country was scoured and a ghastly discovery was made. The party found legs, arms, and other portions of human bodies covered with sand and blood. Gathering the fragments together by the aid of a doctor they made them out to be those of two men, three women, and a female child of ten, two male children, and a female infant. The bodies were fearfully bruised and stripped of every rag. In some of the native wurlies male and female garments were found drenched with blood; also letters, newspapers, the leaves of a Bible, and part of the wrecked ship's log. The body of one woman was found in a wombat hole with a Bible, in which was a list of births, marriages, and deaths. The number killed was about twenty-six. It appears that the shipwrecked people were guided by the natives a short distance inland. They were induced to separate into two companies, and were then killed. As the search party followed up the tracks they noticed that occasionally the marks of the children's feet disappeared. It was evident that the little ones became tired with their long journey and were carried by their friends. The native women who had been captured said the white people had been divided into two parties, then some of the natives rushed upon them and held them, while others beat them upon the head with waddies until they were dead. It was an awful outrage. This much may be said in extenuation—the blacks suffered much from lecherous whites. Like other savage tribes, they did not distinguish between the innocent and the guilty, but took revenge on any who came in their way.

The search party rounded up as many natives as they could, got evidence against them, and hung the leaders in the sheaoak-trees over the graves of their victims. The bodies were left hanging in the trees, and the natives were warned not to touch them. They remained in suspension until dissolution set in.

The ill-fated vessel that carried these unfortunate passengers was the brigantine *Maria*, bound for Van Diemen's Land.

I may mention in passing that King John, of the Adelaide tribe of natives, died in his wurley at the back of the native location, on the North Parklands, on January 2nd, 1845. He was one of the first natives that the settlers in the Province saw, and had acquired a considerable knowledge of the English tongue. Among the natives he was known as Murla-wirra-burka, *i.e.*, "Dry Forest Man." The remnant of his tribe carried him to Onkaparinga for burial.

The Protector of the Aborigines in the early days was Dr. Moorhouse. He was sent from the Old Country, in 1840 to fill the position. In pioneer times there was a "Native Location," consisting of twelve huts, on the North Parklands, opposite the gaol. Here the native children were taught to read, write, and sew. It was under the control of Dr. Moorhouse. He passed through some stirring experiences in the early times, and finally settled many miles north of Adelaide, at Mount Remarkable. Here he had an estate, to which he gave the name of "Bartigunya"—a native name, no doubt. His body rests in the little cemetery near the quaint village of Melrose. On the tombstone the following verse is inscribed:—

> He hated falsehood's mean disguise,
> And loved the thing that's just;
> His honour in his action lies,
> And here remains his dust.

He died in 1876 at an advanced age.

Bushrangers in pioneer times were a source of terror. These were desperate, dare-devil fellows. Some of them were ticket-of-leave men, or convicts from England who had escaped from some of the penal settlements. They were handy with firearms, and sometimes were well mounted on stolen horses. They "stuck up" travellers and out-stations. They made raids upon horses and cattle. Sometimes, under the cover of night, they would visit the city and commit depredations. "Bail up!" was the demand, enforced at the point of a pistol. There was nothing to do but surrender. Their rendezvous, near Adelaide, was the "Tiers" in the Hills. Here

they lurked in densely wooded and almost inaccessible gullies. They knew the country well, and police in the early days, trying to thread their way through the "Tiers," were at the bushrangers' mercy.

Fortunately in those early days there were two or three police officers as bold as lions—Henry Inman, Alexander Tolmer, and Henry Alford. They had some thrilling experiences. For some time a bushranger had been living in the scrub in the vicinity of Encounter Bay. He had come overland from one of the other colonies and rode a magnificent horse, and was well armed. In return for rations he supplied the few settlers of Encounter Bay with kangaroo flesh. A plot was laid to capture him. He was asked to carry a letter to Adelaide to Mr. Edward Stephens at the Bank of South Australia. Being a good bushman and well mounted, he, after some hesitancy, consented. He duly arrived in Adelaide, hitched his horse to the back fence, and entered the bank. Mr. Stephens invited him into the kitchen and directed the cook to provide him with a meal. The bushranger entered, carrying with him his loaded double-barrelled gun. Presently Superintendent Inman entered. In the most matter-of-fact way he took up the gun to examine its merits. The bushranger's suspicions were aroused. He bolted through the door and made a rush for his horse. Just as he was mounting Superintendent Inman seized the bridle. The bushranger drew a pistol and presented it. Inman, who was a tall, powerful young man, and had been a lancer in the British Army, seized the pistol at the lock, prevented it from discharging, and wrenched it out of the felon's hand. He was immediately captured.[23]

Cattle-raiders were a menace to society. About four years after the founding of the colony intelligence was conveyed to the police that some cattle-raiders were at work in the Black Forest. This was some wooded country down the Glenelg track, about four miles from Adelaide. Sergeant Alford and two or three other men set out for the locality. Here they found a stockyard. It was situated in the midst of a dense low scrub, well screened from view. In the stockyard there were three men, who appeared to be very busy at work round a beast which was lying on its back on the ground. Sergeant Alford stepped off his horse on to the fence. The suspicions of the men were aroused. The three

[23] Henry Inman returned to England in the early days, where it is said he became interested in spiritual work, and entered the ministry of the Episcopalian Church. The Inman River and Inman Valley bear his name.

leaped over the fence on the opposite side and decamped. Two of the police gave chase, and each succeeded in capturing a man. One managed to escape from custody. Returning to the secret stockyard they found three cattle slaughtered; one cut up in quarters; another hanging up, cut in halves; and the third the one on which the raiders were at work when disturbed by the police. There were four large empty casks in a bullock dray and a bag of salt lying beside it. Several head of cattle were found in the stockyard. They had been stolen from various settlers.

Many of these raiders were escaped convicts or ticket-of-leave-men of whom we have spoken. Alexander Tolmer, in his "Reminiscences," says: "Cattle-stealing was rife among them. The animals stolen mostly belonged to the South Australian Company, and were driven to some appointed place at night and shot. The beasts would then be skinned and the hides destroyed to prevent identification of the brands. To ensure instant destruction fires were peculiarly constructed with dry logs cut to certain lengths and piled one upon the top of the other in the shape of a chimney. When lit a powerful draught of air was created which quickly produced a fire capable of reducing anything to ashes in a few minutes. After the meat had been cut up, salted, and put into casks it was carted to Adelaide and received by a notorious butcher, who it was ascertained had been for some considerable time supplying the Mauritius market with meat.

Some of these criminals were cool, collected, audacious fellows. Under other circumstances they might have made useful members of society. One of the pioneers (James C. Hawker), in his "Reminiscences" has described one of these men. He was on trial for larceny. Addressing the prisoner His Honor (Sir Charles Cooper) said that on four previous occasions he had appeared before him. He was not a fit person to remain in the Province. He would sentence him to fourteen years' transportation to Van Diemen's Land. The man received his sentence with the utmost composure and thanked the judge for his kindness in sending him to a decent settlement. He stated he was glad to get out of such a beastly place, and would have left the colony before if he had had the means.

The first execution took place on May 2nd, 1838. The culprit was Michael Magee, who made an attempt on the life of the Sheriff. The gallows was a tree on the North Parklands.

In the midst of the trials enumerated, and many more not mentioned, the early settlers, as a rule, kept up a good

heart. One who had found his way to Little Para, about twenty miles north of the nascent city, could sing. I found his lay in one of the pioneer papers stored up in the Public Library. No doubt the singer has long since passed away, and the song was dead and buried, too. Where the dust of the singer lies we cannot tell; but the dust of the song has been discovered, and shall have a resurrection. The mechanism of the song may not be perfect, but the tuneful spirit is there. In it the poetic reader can see the glinting of the early Australian morning, listen to the wild bird's cry, and feel and smell the fresh bracing air.

SUNRISE ON THE PARA.

There's gladness here when morning peeps
So fair and brightly through
Each tiny cloud, that lingering keeps
Across its path of blue.

Soft halo then of greenish light
Each verdant valley fills,
And dawning sunbeams settle bright
On Para's thousand hills.

Oh! then each lone spot lovely seems.
That late was dim and drear;
And far-off azure highland gleams
More beautiful and clear.

How gaily sings the mountain breeze
The morning song of day!
Among the high green forest trees,
Along its leafy way.

And when it early sweeps along
The blooming wattle bowers,
It leaves behind its native song,
The breath of distant flowers.

Sweet sounds the wild bird's startling note
In answering rapture then!
And mellow streams of music float
Through every dewy glen.

Beneath each long-drawn forest aisle,
Where sportive zephyrs play,
Resounds the parrot's whistling call!
The shrill kurraka's (24) lay.

And far-off voices varied meet
Round Para's sparkling rills,
Exulting choirs that love to greet
Young morning on the hills.

(24) The native magpie.

Hitherto I have spoken of reverses—of some of the difficulties with which the pioneers had to contend and the dangers by which they were surrounded. But there were successes as well as reverses—joys as well as sorrows.

As yet no special reference has been made to David McLaren. He was a pioneer nation-builder whose name, worth, and work should be held in perpetual remembrance. David McLaren was the father of the celebrated Manchester preacher, Dr. Alexander McLaren. He was born in Perth, Scotland, in 1785. It was his intention to enter the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, and with this end in view entered the Glasgow University. Finally he chose a commercial life. In 1837 Mr. McLaren came to South Australia as manager of the South Australian Company. He was a good man, and took a keen interest in the social and moral well-being of the infant community. It was he who gave the first warning note against State-aid to religion, and who planned and carried out the construction of the Port Road and the building of the wharves, as well as other works of utility in connection with the primitive settlement.

The so-called Port in Governor Hindmarsh's time was a wretched place. A captain who visited it in 1838 said: "It is the worst place I was ever in in my life." In approaching the Port River his ship went aground twice. In addition to this he could not get any fresh water at the Port. His casks were sent up to Adelaide and filled at the River Torrens. He had to pay a guinea per cask for his water. The Port itself was a swamp. Goods were landed on low swampy ground, and when the owner went down to take possession he might see them floating in the water.

Describing the old Port an early arrival said: "The shore is an uninhabitable swamp, and the few people who are living in the wigwams at Port Adelaide are too busily engaged in landing boards and rolling casks to take notice of a party of ladies and gentlemen up to their knees in mud, trying to reach the shore. This at last is managed without the loss of life or limb, but it is certainly anything but pleasant. Arrived on the dry land, the party wash the mud off their legs and put on their stockings and shoes: then, carrying their trunks as well as they can, they all walk up the side of a little canal, as it is called, which brings them to the only spot of land at the creek free from inundation, which is called 'the sandhills,' where 'one or two grog-shops made of branches of trees' and 'a few natives (stark naked) and a large iron store painted white,' belonging to the Commissioners, are to be seen. 'This is Port Adelaide!' the newly arrived

critic goes on to say. 'Port Misery!' would be a better name, for nothing in any other part of the world can surpass it in everything that is wretched and inconvenient. Packages of goods and heaps of merchandise are lying about in every direction, stacks of what were once beautiful London bricks crumbling away like gingerbread, and evidently at each returning tide half-covered with the flood. Trusses of hay, now rotten; and Norway deals scattered about as if they had no owner. Iron ploughs and rusty harrows; cases of door frames and windows that had once been glazed; heaps of the best slates half tumbling down: blocks of Roman cement, now hard as stone; laths and shingles from Van Diemen's Land in every direction; while on the high ground are to be seen pigs eating through the flour sacks, and kegs of raisins with not only the head out, but half the contents gone; onions and potatoes apparently to be had for the picking up. The sight is disheartening. What with the sun and the rain, the sands and the floods, the thieves with four legs and the thieves with two, the passengers hug themselves at the recollection that they have brought no merchandise for sale; glad enough to be able to take care of themselves. The sooner they get out of this horrid hole the better, so they enquire if there is any coach to town. They are answered by a careless shake of the head, and, like good settlers, they determine to walk, carrying their light parcels with them and leaving their heavy things with a friend who refuses to go any farther. They ask for a drink of water before starting; there is not such a thing to be had; but the bullock carts are expected down every minute with the usual supply. 'What, no water?' exclaims one passenger. 'No, sir: the Commissioners are sinking a well, though they have not found any but salt water; but they are going to dig in another place shortly, we understand.' " (25)

Yes: the old Port in pioneer times was a wretched place, and the track that led from it to the settlement at Adelaide was quite as bad. As neither the Commissioners nor their representatives took action in making an improvement, David McLaren decided to do so. It was his wish to see a macadamized road to the Port and a wharf at which vessels could discharge their cargo. In 1839 the plans were prepared and the material got ready. A large number of the settlers came together to see the work inaugurated. After an address by Captain Sturt, the Rev. C. B. Howard (Col-

(25) Water in the early days was a scarce and precious commodity, especially at the Port. It cost the *Buffalo* more than £100 for 20 tons of water sent from Adelaide to Glenelg.

onial Chaplain) asked the Divine blessing upon the undertaking.[26] Mr. McLaren then made a statement of the case. Said he: "Really, when one considers that this colony has been only about two and a half years in existence—that previously it was almost unknown by name—and that where we are located was at that period a desert, to look round upon this agreeable assemblage and witness what we do to-day is a gratification of no ordinary kind and a scene never paralleled in the history of colonization. We have, in fact, transplanted British habits, British feelings, British capital, and British enterprise to our adopted home. We might almost think ourselves this day removed to Merry Old England. It is my intention, as the humble representative of the South Australian Company, to form a wharf at the termination of the road, where vessels of 400 or 500 tons may discharge out of their ship's hold upon the wharf. If that object be accomplished we shall have laid the foundation of the prosperity of South Australia on a broad, firm, and permanent basis."

After an address from Governor Gawler, who stated that the population of the colony was about 8,000, he removed a few spadefuls of earth. Cheers for the ladies and the manager of the Company were then given, and Edward Stephens (manager of the Pioneer Bank) followed with a speech in which he stated that the cost of the work would be about £25,000. A banquet in a large marquee ended the day's festivities.

The new road to the Port and the wharves were finished in 1840. It was a national event and marked a great stride in nation-building. On October 14 some hundreds of the pioneers—men and women—met on North Terrace, opposite to where the Houses of Parliament now stand. The Governor and leading officials were present. A procession was formed. There were about 432 vehicles—a motley assemblage. Four-in-hand coach, gig, spring waggon, cart, bullock team, and donkey cart were all represented. There were about 500 or 600 persons mounted on horses. It was the largest assembly that had ever gathered in the new colony, about 5,000 being present. A Royal salute was fired. The vessels in the river were covered with

[26] This was a praiseworthy feature in the conduct of the South Australian pilgrim fathers. In spite of the ridicule of some of the members of the House of Commons and the attacks of the London *Times* and *The Courier*, they had gone out to the Great Lone Land to build up a substantial Commonwealth. They believed in an overruling Providence, and in connection with such a secular undertaking as the construction of a wharf or a road they offered prayer.

bunting. When the procession arrived at the Company's Wharf a halt was made. The Rev. C. B. Howard offered prayer. In a speech most appropriate to the occasion, Governor Gawler christened the wharf "McLaren Wharf," a name that it bears to this day. The first bale of goods was then landed upon it, consisting of a box of tea and one of spices. There were "thundering rounds of applause." The Union Jack was "run up" and a Royal salute fired. A regatta followed. Then came a banquet on a colossal scale provided by the manager of the Company. The provision was such that the pioneers evidently thought the various items worth publishing. They were found by me among some old papers in our Public Library, and deserve a resurrection. There were five pieces of roast beef and five pieces of boiled beef, five quarters of lamb, five pieces of veal, fifteen hams, thirty-five tongues, five pieces of spiced beef, forty-five fowls, ten ducks, twenty chicken pies, twenty veal pies, seventy-five covered and other tarts. The fluids were equal in quantity to the solids. One would imagine that after such a feast there would be little speaking. But it was "a day of great things." The speeches were on a par with the provisions. Governor Gawler proposed the first toast, "The Queen and Prince Albert." David McLaren gave "The Health of His Excellency Colonel Gawler." He spoke of the Governor's exertions in extending and expediting the survey of waste lands; the great interest he had shown in the labouring classes and in bettering the condition of the aborigines; his kindness and benevolence to all classes; his Christian principles; and the example set by the Governor and his wife to the discouragement of vice and the promotion of piety and virtue. In a word, he was "The Father of the People." The character was well deserved. The Governor made an excellent speech. Among other things he said, "There are difficulties to be overcome for the general good, and every colonist has his own difficulties. We are not to sleep on a bed of roses. By our exertions we are to make the wilderness rejoice and blossom as the rose. Let us endeavour to carry this out. Let us raise small towns throughout the country which so lately was a wilderness."

At the end of 1840 the colony sustained a loss in the departure of David McLaren. He was called to fill an important position in the service of the South Australian Company in London. He had worked well not only in the interests of the Company, but for the general good of the new colony. A banquet was given in his honour. Judge Cooper took the chair. In spite of bad times, every delicacy

that the colony could furnish was on the table. About 120 gentlemen sat down to dinner. Judge Cooper spoke of the services rendered to the colony by the South Australian Company: "Had it not been for the Company," said he, "South Australia would not be in existence; at all events it would not have been what it is at the present time. I can confidently say that Mr. McLaren has performed his duties most honourably. There is one thing which, were I to mention it, alone would entitle him for ever to the thanks of the community. It is planning and carrying out the new port. When Mr. McLaren has left and living (as I hope he may do for long years) in that repose, comfort, and independence which he has so well earned, he may say that he has greatly contributed to the success of the colony by the undertaking which he has completed so nobly." David McLaren, who was received with great enthusiasm, and who spoke under considerable emotion, said: "I have endeavoured to regulate my conduct in the prominent position in which I have been placed by the principles of truth and sincerity, of righteousness and integrity, of benevolence and the fear of God. I have felt the obligation I was under to exhibit thus publicly the perfect consistency between the assiduous prosecution of business and the maintenance of piety. Wherever I am South Australia shall not want a friend. I have seen the day of small things. I have shared in the difficulties and hardships of the early settlers."

David McLaren returned to England to take the control of the London business of the South Australian Company. He died on June 22nd, 1850. Of him his celebrated son (Rev. Alexander McLaren, D.D.) has said: "His character had many excellences in it; but the basis of all was a firm grip of definite convictions, intelligently adopted and unswervingly clung to. Storms of many sorts assailed, but did not move him." Over his grave his children put the two words, "Steadfast, unmovable." McLaren Wharf and McLaren Vale in South Australia perpetuate his name.

In 1840 the settlers had for the first time the novelty of an election. It was for Councillors and Aldermen for the growing city. The polling-booths were erected at the intersection of King William and Hindley Streets. This will give the colonial reader some idea of the "empty" condition of the young city at that time. The experience was new, and the settlers had an exciting time. The booths were decorated with flags and various devices. At the top of the poll for Councillors was James Hurtle Fisher (Ex-Resident Commissioner). Seventeen citizens were elected. The Coun-

cil chose J. H. Fisher as Mayor, a position that he occupied five times.

Lovers of music to-day may be pleased to know that the "first professional concert" in the primitive settlement was held on February 20th, 1840. Of this very suggestive event the pioneer Press said: "On a spot that three years ago was a desert waste now stands a public assembly-room. In a place that not long ago was a howling wilderness is now advertised the first professional concert. Where the owl shrieked and the wild dog yelled in emulation of his savage master, the notes of Beethoven, Martini, and Bishop would be heard."

It was during the period now under review that Colonel Light died. He was born at Malacca about the year 1786. Colonel Light came to England and entered the navy, afterwards joining the army as a cavalry officer. He served in the Peninsular war and rendered splendid service. He was a man of considerable attainments—especially as a linguist—and had special natural aptitude. It was at the express wish of the Duke of Wellington (with whom Colonel Light had been associated) that he was appointed Surveyor-General of the proposed colony of South Australia. We have already spoken of the difficulties of his position. He was very sensitive to criticism, and the censures to which he was subjected and the conditions that were imposed on him, especially by a body of Commissioners the other side of the world, preyed upon his mind. In 1839 he tendered his resignation, and soon after (October 5th, 1839) died of consumption. Referring to this circumstance the Press of the period said: "With extreme sorrow we have this week to record the death of this truly great man, whose name will co-equal the existence of South Australia, and whose fame will increase as years roll round and the capabilities of the colony are developed." All the immigrants did him honour at his death. As the cortège proceeded from Thebarton to Adelaide minute guns were fired by a party stationed at Hindmarsh. The colours at Government House were flying half-mast. Governor Gawler and all the officials joined in the procession. No business was transacted all day at the public offices. The shops were closed the greater part of the day. The body was first taken to Trinity Church, where a short service was held. The Colonel's heart was always in the city, and his body was buried in the city square called after his name. A monument marks his resting-place and a statue has been erected to his memory; but such, however, are not necessary to keep him in memory. Let the

visitor to South Australia or the descendants of the pioneers ascend the Post Office tower, from the top of which a vaster monument—the creation of his genius—may be seen. Fifty years after the site for the city had been fixed Sir Henry Ayers said: "Can anyone at this time, after fifty years' experience, and with all the knowledge possessed of our extensive seaboard, point out any other site so well adapted in all respects, or, indeed, approaching, the suitableness of the one chosen? Harassed and annoyed by the interference of some and the criticism of others, Colonel Light fearlessly acted on his own good judgment, leaving it, as he said, to posterity to decide 'whether I am entitled to praise or blame.' Posterity speaks out, as succeeding generations will through all time to come, loudly in praise of the man who, by the exercise of his ability, was indeed the founder of Adelaide, and whose dying wish to be so regarded has been so singularly fulfilled."

At the end of 1840, though the colony was not yet four years old, the circle of settlement had been extended to a radius of about 70 miles from Adelaide, the population was 15,000, and 3,000 acres were under cultivation.

On June 30th, 1840, the following statistics were published:—

Sheep	186,000
Cattle	14,800
Horses	1,250
Pigs	3,600
Goats	350

The price of a 2-lb. loaf of bread was 1s. 9d.: sheep were from 26s. to 42s.: cows, from £9 to £18: bullocks, from £10 to £21: horses, from £35 to £120: pigs, from 25s. to £7 7s.; goats, from £2 to £8 8s.

The exports for the year 1840 were 706 bales of wool, 395 barrels of oil, and 650 bundles of whalebone.

If the reader will compare these statistics with those in the previous chapter he will have some idea of the material growth of the Province.

CONSOLIDATION AND EXTENSION.



North Terrace, Adelaide, 1845, showing the Bank of South Australia.

CHAPTER XII.

CONSOLIDATION AND EXTENSION.

Governor Gawler's recall was sudden. The action of the Imperial authorities was so abrupt that it was ungracious. Not even a week's notice was given of the action they intended to take. On May 10th, 1841, the *Lord Glenelg* dropped anchor in Holdfast Bay. On board was Captain Grey, the newly-appointed Governor, and Colonel Gawler's curt recall, which read as follows:—

"In consequence of the reports which have been made to Her Majesty's Government by the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia respecting the amount of the bills which you have drawn on the Commissioners in excess of the authority which you had received from them for that purpose, it has become my unwelcome duty to advise Her Majesty to relieve you from the office of Governor and Her Majesty's Resident Commissioner in that Province. The Queen, having been pleased to approve of that advice, has appointed as your successor Captain Grey, who will proceed to South Australia in the vessel that carries this despatch."

Colonel Gawler was a brave soldier and a Christian gentleman. He had risked his life and shed his blood for his country in the Peninsular wars. At the Battle of Waterloo he rendered memorable service, for which he received special honours. Notwithstanding his excessive expenditure he had served well his Queen and his adopted country. Bearing these facts in mind, the Secretary of State (Lord John Russell) might have performed his "unwelcome duty" in a more gracious way.

When Captain Grey landed he proceeded to Government House, read his commission, and entered upon the duties of his office. He was not a stranger to South Australia, having visited the colony in 1840. He had had a military training, and had served the Imperial Government in exploring the west coast of the Australian Continent.

The advent of the new Governor was not at all welcome, and under the most distressing circumstances he began his administration. A prejudice had been created against him; the pioneers resented his coming; the settlement was only five years old, and was in a state of insolvency. The commercial distress was so great that many of the immigrants

left the colony. There was impending disaster, but Captain Grey was the man for the hour.

Times of social distress are times of political upheaval. Revolutionary ideas are abroad. A discontented spirit takes possession of the people. Someone must be blamed. A scapegoat must be provided. There is one ready to hand in the form of the Government. Mass meetings are held. Demagogic harangues are delivered. Public works on a vaster scale are demanded. Large sums of money must be borrowed. Good wages must be given. Such is the popular ideal—an ideal that Governor Grey shunned and shattered. Just as the born general at a glance takes in the position of the foe and adjusts his forces, so Captain Grey instinctively took in the position of affairs and made preparations for battle. Writing to the Imperial authorities he said:—

"While so many persons are maintaining that an extravagant government expenditure is necessary and beneficial in the early days of a colony, I may be permitted to record my dissent from this opinion. In the early stages of a colony there are no producers either of the necessaries of life or of articles of export. Under such circumstances a large outlay upon public buildings is no further benefit to the colony than that these buildings and improvements are obtained. The whole of the sum expended in labour is carried out of the colony to purchase articles of consumption and clothing. The colony thus depending altogether upon imports (and the demand being uncertain), the necessaries of life fluctuate in value and are generally extremely high. This circumstance, combined with the great employment of labour by the Government, raises inordinately the price of labour. The country settler can thus not become a producer of food or of articles of export. His agricultural operations are limited and his capital eaten up by the high price of wages."

Captain Grey's policy was economy, retrenchment, decentralization. His first despatch to the British Government stated that the anticipated deficiency for the quarter was between £16,000 and £18,000, and only a few hundred pounds in the Treasury to meet it. In a few weeks he would have to provide funds to meet the deficiency from some extraordinary source or the local Government would be bankrupt and the consequences calamitous. He felt that it was the duty of the local Government to endeavour by all legitimate means to provide for its own necessities. He recommended the sale of Government Farm (an institution created by Governor Gawler), of Government horses, and of other

property of this description. He decided to reduce the police force, and to ask that two or three companies of infantry might be transferred from New South Wales to maintain order. Not only was there retrenchment in the Government service on a large scale, but public works that were not of a reproductive character were stopped.

In reply to Governor Grey's first despatch Lord Stanley said: "We rejoice to find that the Governor considered it his chief duty to retrench unnecessary expenditure and to provide for what was necessary out of the resources of the colony. . . . I have much pleasure in conveying to you my concurrence in the expression of satisfaction at the measures which you propose to adopt for meeting the demands on the local Government."

But Governor Grey soon found himself confronted by the same difficulty as had led largely to Governor Gawler's embarrassment. He discovered that it was not so easy, as perhaps he first imagined, for the "local Government to provide for its own wants out of its own resources." The fact is that the Wakefield plan of colonization had its weaknesses. To spend all the revenue derived from the sale of Crown lands in sending out emigrants with little or no capital was a serious blunder. When they arrived and could not find employment their necessities had to be met. This was a big financial item. If they could have been employed by the Governor on works that were immediately reproductive the strain upon the Treasury would not have been so great. But this, in the first stages of the settlement, was not possible.

When Governor Grey arrived in the Province about 142 men were receiving Government pay and 285 rations. These men were employed in clearing the streets of Adelaide, making the roads, raising material for the Adelaide Gaol, and sawing and splitting wood, for which they received 1s. 6d. per day, with rations for themselves and families.

If opportunity offered for so doing many of these needy immigrants were unwilling to leave the city and its environs and go into the more unsettled parts of the Province. In one of his despatches to the Secretary of State Governor Grey said that many of the immigrants "found themselves so well fed and so comfortably situated by being employed within the vicinity of the town that they would not go out into the country." This was especially so in the case of married men, who received not only the 1s. 6d. per day from the Government, but rations for their wives and families.

The British Government laid the matter before the Board of Commissioners in London. They recommended that the practice of supplying rations should be stopped: that the unemployed immigrants, for whom the Government had to provide, should be paid wages below the ordinary market rate; that by a system of advertising work should be sought for them among the settlers in the outlying country; that surplus labour should be diverted to one of the other colonies.

Before this communication reached Governor Grey he had acted in some respects along the lines of these suggestions. He had stopped the distribution of rations and reduced the rate of remuneration for the unemployed to the following scale:—A single man, 7s. per week; a man and his wife, 12s. per week, and every unemployed child in the family 2s. per week.

It was inevitable that Governor Grey's policy of retrenchment in the Government service and cessation of public works should, for a time, increase and intensify the unemployed difficulty. Very soon there were 1,245 persons (one-twelfth of the population of the colony) applying to the Government for help in the form of rations or work. In six months fifty-eight persons died so completely destitute that the Government had to pay the expenses of their burial.

Yet in the outlying districts we are told there was really a demand for workers. So much so that it was with difficulty that settlers on the soil gathered in their harvest. The evil was centralization.

In spite of his communication to the Home Government that "he felt it was the duty of the local Government to endeavour, by all legitimate means, to provide for its own necessities," Governor Grey found that he had actually to do what Governor Gawler had done, *viz.*, to draw upon the British Treasury. In a despatch to the British Government he stated that the difficulties in providing for the needs of the indigent immigrants were such that he would have to draw upon the Home authorities for £1,510, adding: "I hope the fact of such sums being drawn to prevent British subjects from starving will be deemed a valid excuse for such drafts being drawn."

Lord Stanley's reply was that no immigrant dependent upon the Government should have any assistance if he refused wages at a higher rate than the Government allowance. Governor Grey was also instructed to further reduce the scale of wages for relief works. The British Government paid the £1,510 under protest, feeling that more stringent

steps ought to be taken to compel the immigrants to go in the country in search of employment.

Governor Grey enacted that if an unmarried immigrant refused to work for a settler who offered him £20 a year and rations he would not have any claim to Government assistance. A married immigrant was not to refuse £30 a year and rations, or a like penalty would be inflicted.

Slowly but surely there was an improvement. On November 10th, 1841, Governor Grey was able to report to the Secretary of State that the expenditure had been reduced from £150,000 to £40,000 per annum. There was a reduction of £110,000. Said Lord Stanley, in his reply: "I have read the report with great satisfaction, and I feel pleasure in expressing the assurance of my entire approval of the bold and judicious measures of reduction which you have effected in the expenditure of your Government."

A little later there was a rift within the lute. As soon as Governor Grey heard that Colonel Gawler's bills were in course of payment in England, he decided to place the creditors in the colony on an equal footing. Speaking in the Council in November, 1841, he said: "Gentlemen, on my arrival in this Province, in the month of May last, a variety of unpaid accounts were handed to me. I declined at that time to pay those accounts, upon which a large deputation of merchants and others waited upon me to urge the necessity for immediate payment. I declined, however, to accede to their request. The only mode in which I could have discharged those accounts would have been by drawing upon the British Treasury. . . . Having ascertained from the most authentic sources that the bills of the late Governor which had reached England are now in course of payment, it appears to me that I ought now, immediately, to commence paying off the outstanding claims. If I did not now pay the Government creditors who are in the colony I should allow them to be in a worse position than the Government creditors elsewhere. . . . I have determined, therefore, to draw upon the Lords of the Treasury for the payment of those outstanding claims," which amounted to several thousand pounds.

He did so, but the Governor's act was repudiated by the British Government, which refused to pay these outstanding claims. Lord Stanley wrote to the Governor to say that his Government was of opinion that it ought not to pay the bills which he had drawn. They were drawn not only without authority, but also contrary to the express letter of his instructions. While criticiz

ing the act of Governor Grey the Secretary of State added: "I think it right to convey to you the assurance that although Her Majesty's Government has seen fit to disapprove of this particular proceeding, yet in other respects the tenor of your administration has been such as to leave unimpaired the confidence of the Government in the prudence and discretion of your measures."

Not only did Governor Grey have to reduce expenditure but to increase taxation. How unwelcome, even in prosperous times, is legislation of this kind, and how unreasonable is much of the opposition offered to Government dues. It is individualism of the most miserly type. Men pay butcher and baker without demur. Why? Because the benefit conferred is directly received and personally absorbed; but some object to pay taxation because the advantages secured are communal—benefits in which all may share. They seem to think that the Government is a kind of self-sacrificing body which ought to produce, in some occult way, from its own resources all that the community needs. But we must not think of the pioneers in this way. They had a grievance. No doubt there was an inherent dislike to taxation, but in the case of the pioneers it was "taxation without representation." They had no direct action in political affairs. They felt that if they provided the money they ought to have a voice as to how that money should be spent. It was the continuance of nominee government that made them rebellious and tempted them to be disloyal.

In August, 1842, the representative men of the community and many others met in the theatre, Gilles' Arcade. Two things were troubling their souls: not only increased taxation, but the form of government to which they had to submit. They thought the time had come when they ought to petition the British Government against further taxation till the Constitution was so amended as to give the settlers some political control. The Mayor (Thomas Wilson) was in the chair. Around him were the intellectual and political stalwarts of the community—James Hurtle Fisher, John Morphett, George S. Kingston, Edward Stephens, John Brown, Charles Mann, Osmond Gilles, Jacob Hagen, Edward Gwynne, John Baker, William Peacock, Henry Mildred, and others.[27]

James H. Fisher said that it was long since he had taken part in matters of a political character, as he had retired into private life, but the subject before the meeting that

[27] For sketches of the lives of some of these men see the chapter devoted to "Pioneer Builders."

morning was in its nature so interesting and in its importance of so overwhelming a character that he could not withstand the request to appear on that occasion. They should not be taxed without a voice in the matter. Taxation without representation ought, in every proper and reasonable way, to be resisted to the uttermost. Were they, or were they not, to have a voice in the imposition of their own burdens? That was the sole point they had to consider. The memorial he had to submit for adoption by the meeting dealt with this question.

The memorial was then submitted, one clause of which said: "That lately the Legislative Council of this Province have passed certain acts for the imposition of taxes, and have proposed certain other measures for the same purpose. That such measures have not met with the favourable opinion of the colonists, and are, in the opinion of your petitioners, objectionable in principle, defective in their detail, and highly injurious to the best interests of the Province."

The memorial asked that no taxes should be imposed until the colonists had some representative power in the Legislature.

Jacob Hagen seconded the motion for the adoption of the memorial.

Charles Mann affirmed that there was a tendency on the part of some of the more influential colonists to shirk public responsibilities. He was left to fight the battles for the public. He was glad that such a statement did not apply on the present occasion. He saw round him men who had entered with him on public service for the colony. They had now come forward to join him in the full belief that they could not have their just rights without representation of their opinions in the manner described in the petition read. Through a period of five years who could say that they had not been loyal and dutiful? There was not a colony on the face of the globe where a clearer appreciation of the monarchical principle had prevailed than among themselves, or where there had been so much misgovernment without tumult. What was the result? Constant aggressions were made on their principles and privileges. Everything had been swept away except their fields of corn.

Other colonists spoke and two memorials were accepted by the meeting.

Governor Grey became increasingly unpopular. He was abused and denounced by the Press as well as by the public. With an ancient Hebrew he could pathetically cry: "Mine enemies speak evil of me: when shall he die and his name

perish?" An editorial note in the Press said: "The belief in Captain Grey's recall is every day gaining ground. . . . We need not say with how much joy his recall would be hailed by a united people, no Governor of a British colony ever having been so deservedly unpopular and his measures so universally execrated." This must have been most excruciating to the Governor, but he was not the man to show that he winced. Some months later there was a leading article in the newspaper under the heading "Hurrah for the meeting!" It began as follows: "Colonists of South Australia! To-morrow at twelve is the time of your own appointing for the meeting to petition for Captain Grey's recall. . . . South Australia now expects that every man will do his duty. Captain Grey has left himself without a friend in the colony, not a dog being found to bark in his favour, except as allured with the hope of paltry gain or as influenced by the dread of some pitiful loss. . . . Before Captain Grey had held the reins of Government three months the unemployed immigrants were not only put on starvation allowance, but were flatly refused the right of memorializing His Excellency. . . . Every shopkeeper in Adelaide should close his shop during the hour of meeting, and every tradesman and labourer in Adelaide should be at the meeting to give his best support."

On Thursday, March 16th, 1843, the meeting was held. Most of the shops and stores in Hindley and Rundle Streets were closed. There was a total cessation of business during the hours of the meeting. The theatre, Gilles' Arcade, was full to overflowing, about a thousand persons being present. The Mayor of Adelaide (Thomas Wilson) occupied the chair, and simply contented himself with a few remarks of a non-committal character.

The first speaker was a "Mr. Hewitt, of Oxenbury Farm," evidently a political agitator from the Old Country. He rose to move the first resolution—"That this meeting is impressed with the deep importance of a good understanding being maintained between the Governor and the colonists, but deeply deplores its total want of confidence in the administration of His Excellency Captain Grey." Said the speaker: "When he left the Old Country in quest of this his adopted land he had no expectation of ever being placed in the circumstances in which he found himself that day. At Home he had something to do with politics and with fighting the cause of the people; but he had hoped to spend the remnant of his days in breaking up the clods of the earth and in the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of the privileges of a British

subject. They could not co-operate with Captain Grey; they did not approve of the manner in which things were being carried on; and it was as much their duty as it was their privilege to see whether they could not obtain redress. In the present struggle either they or the Governor must fall. It was useless for them to till their ground and raise crops so long as laws were enacted and kept in force to the great prejudice and destruction of the value of their produce."

William Peacock moved—"That the want of confidence in His Excellency's administration is mainly to be traced to His Excellency's disregard of the general wishes of the colonists." Then followed a long list of charges.

Mr. Moulden moved—"That this meeting, seeing nothing but disaster and ruin to the colony so long as the administration of its affairs is left in the hands of Captain Grey, records its solemn belief in the necessity of a representation to that effect being made to Her Majesty by a petition from the colonists."

In passing we may remark that these "solemn beliefs" and "conscientious asseverations," viewed in the light of subsequent events, are amusing. One speaker affirmed that in the struggle proceeding "either the colonists or Governor Grey must fall," but neither suffered such a catastrophe. Both came through with credit and success.

Councillor Mildred, who came out in 1837, and who sat in the First Parliament in 1857, brought a petition forward. He said: "On South Australia there is but one spot, and that is a *grey* spot, which was mildewing and blighting all their prospects." His resolution was "That the petition, founded upon the foregoing resolutions, be adopted by the meeting, and, when signed by the colonists, should be forwarded to His Excellency, with a respectful request that he will be pleased to transmit the same, at his earliest convenience, for presentation to Her Majesty."

At the close of the meeting three groans were given for Captain Grey and a rush was made to the tables to sign the petition.

In a leader on the meeting one of the pioneer papers said: "The die is cast. Captain Grey's days of political misrule are numbered, and if he were not alike insensible to his own duty at the present crisis as he confessedly is to the real interests of the colony, he would at once throw up the seals of office and go and make his peace with the Colonial Office ere it be too late."

The petition contained nine charges against the Governor.

But Governor Grey was not the man to be "bluffed" or intimidated. Through good and evil report he calmly but resolutely pursued his way.

In reply to one memorial addressed to him, asking for something to which he could not consent, he said: "I am prepared, most good humouredly, to undergo the customary amount of odium." Speaking at a banquet which he attended in 1843 he could consistently say: "I have laboured earnestly for the benefit of the colony, and when the time comes I hope my efforts will be appreciated: but it is one of the difficulties of my present position that, until that time comes, what has been done can neither be known nor explained."

The settlers were unfair in their attacks upon Governor Grey. He was but the servant of the Crown and had to do its bidding. How he was urged on to make retrenchments the following despatch will show. In one of his communications to the British Government the Governor stated that the expenditure for the quarter had been £15,603, of which £5,818 had been devoted to the support of destitute and unemployed immigrants. Compared with the corresponding quarter of the previous year there had been a saving of £25,024. But the British Government was not yet satisfied, because the ordinary expenditure had not been brought within the ordinary income. Writing to Governor Grey Lord Stanley said: "I must again urge upon you the importance of adequate measures being taken, at the earliest possible period, to equalize the expenditure and income of the colony," adding, "I think it right to remark that the circumstance which has been repeatedly reverted to by you of the expenditure under your administration being much less than that which was in progress under your predecessor furnishes, in itself, no proof of the sufficiency of your financial arrangements."

Governor Grey had a sympathetic heart as well as a determined will. Out of his salary of £1,000 a year he contributed nearly £400 for charitable purposes.

The night seemed long and dark, but ultimately the morning broke. A Select Committee, of which W. E. Gladstone was a member, was appointed by the British Parliament to enquire into the financial condition of South Australia. The finding of the Committee was that there were faults in the plan on which the colony was founded. The powers given to the Commissioners were too large—powers that ought not to have been confided to any other hands than those of the Government. The appointment of a Board of Commis-

sioners, over whose proceedings the responsible Minister of the Crown could exercise no adequate control, was in effect to relieve the Government from its proper responsibility. The Act created an inconvenient division of authority. The uncertainty of the security on which money was borrowed involved a high rate of interest. Thousands of people were to be sent out and left in a country dependent (as to all the primary wants of social existence) upon the regular remittances of money borrowed upon this security. The provision for securing the Mother Country from financial loss (£20,000) was quite inadequate. These were some of the inherent defects which the Select Committee found in the Act for South Australian colonization.

The Committee found that before the arrival of Governor Gawler the accounts had fallen into confusion and the Treasury was exhausted. They appreciated the difficulty of Governor Gawler's position, and had no doubt that he was actuated in the course which he had taken by the most earnest desire to advance the welfare of the colony. The Committee suggested that South Australia should be made a Crown colony. They advised the expediency of introducing a popular element into the future Legislative Council of South Australia. An alteration was also suggested in the matter of surveys. The cost should no longer be borne by the general revenue of the colony; it should be provided for by an acreable charge, to be declared from time to time by the Government on all land sold, and to be paid by each purchaser in addition to the actual price of the land. The Committee suggested that land should be offered by public auction, half of the proceeds of the sale to go to purposes of general revenue and half to emigration.

As we have pointed out, the distinguishing feature in the Act for the colonization of South Australia was the appropriation of money secured by the sale of Crown lands for the purpose of emigration. This the Committee did not condemn. It pointed out defects revealed by experience.

The House of Commons voted £155,000 to meet the immediate necessities of the colony.

The unfriendly attitude of the London *Times* to the colony still continued. The reverses that overtook it, calling for Parliamentary interference, afforded the editor an opportunity for scathing criticism, which he was not at all slow to embrace. Said he: "Matters have at length come to such a pass in South Australia (the firstborn of Mr. Wakefield's genius) that Lord John Russell has obtained a Select Committee of the House of Commons to consider the whole con-

dition of that bubble colony. . . . The whole settlement from Fowler's Bay to Cape Northumberland has, in little more than four years, fallen into bankruptcy and confusion. The merit of having originated the colony belongs, in unequal proportions, to Mr. Gibbon Wakefield and a Mr. Robert Gouger. . . . The Province is about to fall into the hands of the Colonial Office. So much for the self-supporting colony." According to *The Times*, the attempts made by the promoters of the colony to establish their favourite speculation would "have disgraced a fraternity of Jew crimps." But we must not always take editorial comments seriously.

The question of the indebtedness of South Australia came up again in July, 1842. Lord Stanley introduced a Bill to make further advances to the colony to meet its liabilities and to provide for its better government and the management of the revenues. He thought that the House would agree with him when he stated that the colony ought not to be abandoned for the want of temporary assistance. He hoped that in a short time, through the measures adopted by Governor Grey, the colony would become self-supporting. To place it in that condition it was necessary to make arrangements to relieve it from its most pressing difficulties. He asked that the House, in addition to making certain allowances (£59,936), would forego the payment of the £155,000 already advanced.

Mr. Williams denounced everything that had been done in relation to the government of the colony. It presented gross instances of jobbing and mismanagement. He knew that it was useless to think of opposing the proposition of the noble lord; but he really thought it would be better to give up the colony altogether than incur any further expense.

Mr. Mackinnon (after whom Mackinnon Parade is named and whose portrait is in the Town Hall), a true friend of the colony, stood up in its defence. He defended the outlay. Nothing could be more absurd than to think of abandoning a colony which, with fair treatment, might in time become as powerful as the United States.

Mr. Smith agreed with the last speaker. He had heard with cordial satisfaction the references which had been made to the activity, vigour, and energy of his friend Captain Grey, and on the whole he entertained the opinion that the establishment of the colony would eventually be quite successful.

Mr. Hume affirmed that the affairs of the colony had been grossly mismanaged. He thought that the loan asked

for ought not to be granted. He would propose that the colony be held liable for the whole of the advance to be made.

A division taken on Mr. Hume's motion resulted:—For the motion, 10; against, 73.

When the third reading came on Mr. Hume again returned to the attack. Said he: "The House seemed to be quite indifferent to the giving away of the money of a distressed people. He intended to move that the Bill be read a third time that day three months; but he believed that he was quite in order in moving a resolution which he had prepared condemning the Bill as a waste of public money, and proposing that the colony should be held liable for the payment of all the money."

On a division there were 68 for the third reading of the Government Bill and 15 against. A few days later it received the sanction of the House of Lords. The Bill provided for the better government of South Australia. It became a Crown colony. Power was vested in the Governor and a Council of seven persons all nominated by the Crown, four of them (including the Governor) being official and four non-official. The official members were the paid servants of the Crown, and consisted of the Governor (Captain Grey), the Colonial Secretary (Alfred M. Mundy), the Advocate-General (William Smillie), and the Colonial Treasurer (Captain Charles Sturt). The non-official members of the Council were John Morphett, Major T. S. O'Halloran, Captain G. F. Dashwood, and Thomas Williams. Ere long the latter retired and Jacob Hagen was nominated in his place.

The new Council was sworn in on Tuesday, June 20th, 1843. In his address to the members Governor Grey said: "I feel great pleasure in directing your attention to the gracious assurances contained in the despatch which I have laid upon the table that, though the form of Council now instituted has for the present appeared to Her Majesty's Government best suited for the wants and conditions of the colony, they concur in the view taken in the report of the Committee of the House of Commons that it may be expedient at an early period to grant to the inhabitants of the colony a certain degree of control over its revenues and expenditure by the infusion of the element of popular representation into the local Legislature." The new Council met for the transaction of business on October 10th, 1843. A new departure was now taken in another direction. Governor Grey allowed the public admission to the Council room to listen to the debates.

Another legislative enactment of the Imperial Parliament that gave great relief was an alteration in the sale of waste lands. We have pointed out that the colony was founded on the Wakefield system, that the land should be sold at so much per acre and the money expended in emigration. The consequence was, as stated in a previous chapter, that the flow of immigration (especially of persons without capital) was too strong. An Act was now passed by which the waste lands of the colony (except 20,000-acre blocks) were put up to auction, the minimum price being £1 per acre, one-half only of the proceeds to be devoted to emigration, the other half to the revenue.

Gradually the prospects of the colony improved. The Kapunda Mine was discovered in 1842, first by one of Captain Bagot's sons, who was out gathering wild flowers, and then by Francis S. Dutton (afterwards Premier and Agent-General), who was mustering sheep. He reined his horse up on the top of a hill beside a large mass of clay slate. This was found to be impregnated with carbonate of copper. Out of this discovery the famous Kapunda Mine was developed.

In 1845 the more valuable Burra Mine was discovered by a shepherd. In course of time about 900 men and boys were employed upon the mine, £5 shares became worth £220, and the profit obtained after about six years' working is said to have been nearly half a million.

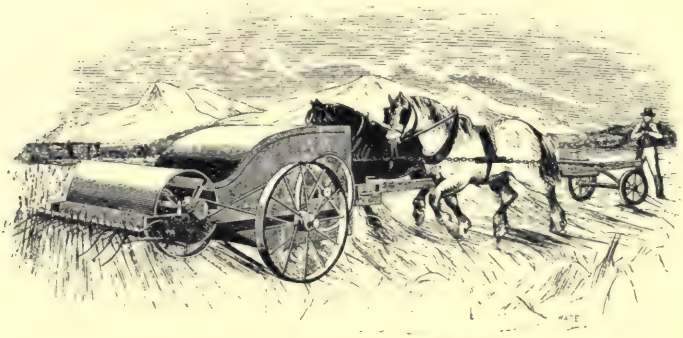
Ridley's Reaping Machine.

These mines added greatly to the resources of the colony. Not only were wealthy mines discovered, but an invention of priceless value was made. By reducing the cost of production and making farming on a larger scale possible it caused a revolution in agriculture. The inventor was John Ridley, a miller, who came to the settlement in 1840. The pioneers had a difficult problem to solve. The soil and climate of the colony were adapted to agriculture, and large areas were available for wheat-growing. The difficulty at harvest time was cost of reaping and scarcity of labour. A number of pioneers formed themselves into a committee and offered a prize for the best reaping machine that could be invented. About thirteen persons competed, among whom was an old and well-known colonist, J. W. Bull. The committee did not accept any models submitted by these. John Ridley did not compete, but he constructed a machine that at once came into favour. He was a mechanical genius, and hit upon the correct principle. With a magnanimity that did him credit he presented the invention to the pioneers. No gain was

made by him out of the invention, except a profit on the machines that he made and sold. As an expression of appreciation and gratitude the settlers raised a sum of money and presented it to him through Governor Grey.

In another way he did good service to the colonists and added to their resources. A further problem the pioneers had to face was how to grind the corn that they gathered in. There was no machinery in the colony equal to the demand. John Ridley brought the solution of that problem with him. It was in the form of a steam mill, which was soon at work at Hindmarsh.[28] He returned to the Old Land in 1853, and lived there to the ripe old age of eighty-one years.

The early settlers in South Australia were alive to their moral as well as to their material interests. Like the pre-



THE ORIGINAL REAPING MACHINE.

sent generation of Australians they desired a "white Australia," more especially in a moral sense. The British Government wished to send out to the new Province a shipload of Parkhurst prison boys (so called after the place in which they were located). The settlers were soon up in arms against the proposal. In January, 1845, a large meeting was held in an auction room in Hindley Street to protest against the suggestion of the British Government. John Morphett occupied the chair, and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. James

[28] Near the Port Road, in the early days, there was a half-finished monument of John Ridley's creative genius. It was a large structure, on one of the paddocks, representing an attempt made by him to raise water for the irrigation of the Adelaide Plains, by means of a kind of horizontal windmill. It remained there for some years.

Farrell (Colonial Chaplain), George S. Kingston, James Hurtle Fisher, Henry Mildred, William Giles, Edward Stephens, and other leading colonists. Various resolutions in opposition to the introduction of the Parkhurst boys were passed. The speakers laid special emphasis on the Act of Parliament "which led them unitedly to set their feet on these shores," one of the provisions of which Act was that no convicts were to be sent to South Australia.

On the same ground they objected to the proposal to send "conditionally pardoned men" from Van Diemen's Land to South Australia. Yes; the pilgrim fathers were alive to the moral interests of the community, and posterity in South Australia owes them a debt of gratitude which it can discharge only by manifesting the same anxiety and care for the moral interests of the generations that are yet to come.

The time drew near for Governor Grey to leave. The last year of his administration was one of unparalleled prosperity. Extensive districts to the south and south-east had been discovered and settled. The boundaries of settlement to the north had been extended for a distance of nearly 200 miles. Much new land had been broken up. Large importations of horses and cattle had been made. New manufactures and arts had been introduced, including the successful smelting of lead and copper ores. In the mining operations of the young colony great strides had been made. Toward the end of 1845, in the space of a few weeks, 1,200 tons of copper had been shipped. In six months about £50,000 had been paid, chiefly for mineral land, by parties in the Province, exclusive of £20,000 paid in London. The circulation of the banks more than doubled. It averaged less than £10,000 in 1843. In 1845 it was about £21,000. The deposits largely increased. Confidence had been completely restored. Everything was full of life and promise. The Government was engaged forming and improving roads and bridges on important lines of communication. The value of exports for the year was £148,459. The prosperity that the colony now enjoyed is not to be attributed merely to the discovery of mineral wealth, but largely to Governor Grey's policy. This is seen in the fact that when he took the reins of government there were only 6,722 acres under cultivation; when he left the colony there were 26,218 acres under cultivation. While the value of mineral exports for 1845 was only a little more than £19,000, that of wool was over £72,000. *The South Australian*, one of the pioneer papers, stated that in 1841 (the year when Captain Grey arrived) the value of grain exported amounted to only £1,066.

In 1845 (the year that Governor Grey left) grain was exported to the value of £22,442.

In July, 1845, such was the improved condition of the colony that Governor Grey felt he was justified in proclaiming the port free. He abolished Port charges on ships of all nations. This gave the colonists great joy. A public meeting was held at the Supreme Court, Adelaide, to render thanks to the Governor. An address was presented to him in which the colonists spoke in the highest terms of his "able, zealous, and diligent administration of public affairs," and affirmed that "the Province of South Australia was at length fulfilling the fond predictions of its founders and friends." and "would become one of the brightest gems in the Imperial diadem of Britain."

In the early part of his administration Governor Grey had been bitterly assailed and abused. When the time came for him to say farewell the whole colony sang his praises. *The Register* (once bitterly opposed to him) now said: "For the talent of promptly meeting financial difficulties, for the firmness that will soon make a set of imbeciles or encroaching officials feel that they have at length a master mind to deal with, we give Captain Grey credit, as well for legislative capacity and cool determination."

The following statistics for 1845 are taken from State records:—

Population	22,390
Revenue	£36,182
Expenditure	£32,099
Exports	£148,459
Minerals	£19,018
Acres under cultivation	26,218
Sheep	480,669
Cattle	26,146
Horses	1,044
Population in Adelaide	7,413
Public-houses	85
Manufactories	81
Rainfall	18·83

After Governor Grey had left, his successor (Governor Robe) stated to the Council that the value of exports [29] for three years was as follows:—

In 1843	£81,000
In 1844	£95,000
In 1845	£148,000

[29] A little more than ten years previously the London *Times* had ridiculed the idea of exports from the proposed colony to England.

Shortly after Governor Grey had left John Stephens, the able editor of *The Register*, gave a glowing account of the condition of the colony. Said he: "The population was rapidly growing, work was plentiful, and wages good. The appearance of the cornfields surpassed anything that had been witnessed in South Australia. The time had gone by when some of the first settlers had imported flour at £100 per ton, and when a careworn country consumer deemed it a most important service to be supplied by his town friends with a temporary dole of flour at 1s. lb. The settlers were able to ship about £5,000 worth of flour to the Cape of Good Hope in one vessel. This, in addition to other shipments to other parts of the globe. Valuable harbours heretofore suspected rather than known to exist had been subjected to careful examination and survey. The painful season of privation of fruit had gone by. Butchers' meat and poultry the settlers enjoyed in ample sufficiency." He wound up this glowing description by saying that of the colony (only a few years of age) it might be said: The sons are as "plants grown up in their youth" the daughters are "polished after the similitude of a palace"; the "garners are full, affording all manner of store": the sheep are "bringing forth thousands and tens of thousands"; the "oxen are strong to labour": in the streets there is "no complaining"; and with proper joy and humility we may assert the happiness of a people who "are in such a case"!

Governor Grey left the colony on October 26th, 1845, to administer the government in New Zealand at a most critical time.

Subsequently he was appointed High Commissioner for Africa. He rendered notable service to the Empire. In the Botanical Gardens, Cape Town, a statue has been erected to his memory. He is described as "a Governor who, by his high character as a Christian, a statesman, and a gentleman, had endeared himself to all classes of the community, and who, by his zealous devotion to the best interests of South Africa and his able and just administration, has secured the approbation and gratitude of all Her Majesty's subjects in this part of her dominions."

After a "splendid career" he died in the Old Land in 1898, about eighty-six years of age, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Speaking of Sir George Grey nearly fifty years after his departure the late Sir Henry Ayers said: "As an old colonist and a citizen of more than fifty years he knew how much South Australia was indebted to Sir George Grey. He

had lived in the colony during the whole of Sir George Grey's administration; in fact, he was in the colony before that gentleman, and knew what a deplorable state it was in. Sir George's task was of a severe character. For four and a half years he stood to his guns, and great were the changes that he made. Sir George was about the best hated man in Australia, but he had the happiness of finding, before he left, that those who were loudest in their denunciation turned round, and had the courage to acknowledge how much they were indebted to him for his excellent service."

After Sir George Grey had been absent from South Australia nearly fifty years he revisited it on his seventy-ninth birthday. A warm welcome was given him. Hundreds of citizens lined the terraces and streets. They cheered the grand old man as he once more trod the streets of the city. What a change! As a vigorous young man, nearly fifty years before, he had left the primitive settlement. A great battle had been fought and a victory won. As the young administrator sailed away from our shores he felt that he had done his duty, and had faith in the future of the colony. Now, as an old man, grey in the service of the Empire, he returned to see his expectations more than realized. They put him in a carriage and drove him through the streets in triumph. It was in the cemetery of this city that his only child—a son—was buried. Speaking of this visit one of his biographers said: "As he looked upon the handsome buildings, the beautiful gardens, the whole aspect of the town—familiar, yet so changed—as he breathed the invigorating air and rejoiced in the peculiar glory of the blue skies, what wonder that his heart was overflowing with emotion, that his brain was dizzy. He said that he felt like a man who was dreaming, as though the glowing scenes were glorified visions, suggested by the memories of the past, which would presently fade away." On another occasion he described his feelings as similar to those of a man who had been dead for fifty years and then had come to life, and had revisited the scenes of his youth. They took the sapient old warrior to the Town Hall. The self-reliant, self-contained, and determined spirit was overcome with emotion. Said he: "I can scarcely realize the fact that this is the Adelaide of old, and that I am actually here. The scene swims before me. Therefore do not ask me to say more." He sat down with his eyes full of tears.

Let English-speaking people everywhere ponder this grand old man's testimony. Said he: "It was a comfort to me in trying hours to feel that I was working according to

the way of my Maker so far as I could comprehend it. . . I have always been supported by the belief in God's goodness as manifested to me. My judgment is that man cannot prosper if he falls from faith—by which I mean trust in a Supreme Being."

It was during Governor Grey's time that one of the most honoured and beloved of the pioneers passed away. This was the first Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. Charles B. Howard. The affairs of Trinity Church were in a troubled state when he died, and this lay heavily upon his mind. Said he to a friend: "What I have done I have done in God's cause: I must leave it to Him." Except when under the influence of fever his time was spent in singing, offering extemporary prayers, or repeating his favourite hymn, "Again the Sacred Day of Rest Returns." To a friend who enquired whether he had a well-grounded hope he replied, "Yes, firmer than ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom alone poor sinners can hope for salvation."

There was loud lamentation at his death and burial. He had been with the pioneers through all their troubles. Their joys and sorrows had been his. High and low, young and old wept. He was but thirty-six years of age when he died. They laid the body to rest in the West Terrace Cemetery on Saturday, July 22nd, 1845.

In October and November, 1844, the colony was visited, for the first time since its settlement, by a plague of locusts. They came in myriads. People who were out walking found it necessary to put up umbrellas or to tie handkerchiefs round their faces to protect themselves from nasty blows caused by the hard heads of the locusts as they flew through space. They did a great deal of damage, destroying more vegetation than they actually consumed.

In the early part of Governor Grey's administration the Collector of Customs (Robert R. Torrens) and the colonists generally had an exciting experience.

A French vessel, the *Ville de Bordeaux*, dropped anchor in Holdfast Bay. The captain affirmed that he had come to take in sheep. The boarding officer at Holdfast Bay did not consider that satisfactory credentials were presented. Robert R. Torrens was of the same mind. The captain lost his temper and set sail in St. Vincent's Gulf with the boarding officer on board. There was a small steamer at Port Adelaide (the first possessed by the settlers) and the Collector of Customs determined to give chase. Anything that would serve as fuel—shingles and palings—were pressed into service Steam was got up, and away the "Shingle

Expedition" went. The crew of the French vessel saved the Collector of Customs much trouble. They took the matter in their own hands. The captain was made to stand aside, and the sailors brought the vessel back. The affair did not end here. The authorities sued the captain for expenses connected with the chase. The case was given in favour of the Collector of Customs, and the vessel was detained and used as a light ship. It was a bold act on the part of the pioneer fathers; many feared that it might lead to a collision between France and England. The Collector of Customs seems to have muddled the matter. Alexander Tolmer, in his "Reminiscences," affirms that ultimately the Colonial Government "had to disburse to the tune of £14,000 irrespective of other expenses."

NOTE.—It was in the early part of Governor Grey's term that the colony reached its lowest level. This seems to be a fitting place to give the substance of "A Letter from a Gentleman in Adelaide" which appeared in the London *Times*. It was dated January 19th, 1842. The writer was evidently a fairminded and observant critic. He said that the colonists were experiencing the height of summer, the thermometer standing sometimes as high as 110 degrees in the shade, but the writer did not find the heat oppressive: it agreed with Europeans wonderfully well; and on the whole he considered the climate delightful. The fineness and salubrity of the climate, added to the beauty of the country and its fertility, made it a desirable place to live in. He went on to affirm that when the English had been settled in South Australia for half a century and had their roads and bridges made, together with other essentials of civilization, he thought that the colony would be one of the most delightful places in the world. He then passed from the climate to social conditions, and had a different story to tell. The fine colony seemed likely to be abandoned, and would, perhaps, be really so if it were not that those who had property in it were tied to it, and others were too poor to pay the expenses of removal. The harvest had been gathered in and the sheep had been shorn, but this had only enabled the settlers to lift up their heads and get a little breath: it had produced no good effects that were permanent. The reason was that the produce was not commensurate with the needs of the settlers. Although the harvest had been bountiful hundreds were pining in want, and were in the extreme of destitu-

tion. The writer undertook to trace the difficulties of the colony to their source—a very important matter. He stated that the settlement had been in existence five years, and that he would sketch the events of that period. He began with the arrival of Governor Hindmarsh and the temporary settlement of the immigrants on the banks of the Torrens. The site of the town not having been fixed or surveyed had led to a great loss of time and money. In 1837 and 1838 immigrants arrived in great numbers, bringing land orders with them, but the surveys not being completed they could not settle on the land. The consequence was that they settled in Adelaide and became shopkeepers instead of farmers. While waiting for their land some spent all their money. Then in 1839 there came a rise in land values which was really fictitious—the land was never worth the price put upon it. The writer attributed the principal cause of the settlers' troubles to the inflated value of land. Both town and rural lands were let out at extravagant values, and the unfortunate leaseholders were almost ruined. It was a common occurrence for a tenant to give up all the improvements which he had made, even the house which he had built, on the condition that the landowner would take the lease off his hands. The colonists spent three years without doing anything to keep themselves. They had not tilled the land nor followed pastoral pursuits. Money, owing to the constant influx of capital, by the arrival of immigrants, had been plentiful; the colonists had lived freely, and wages were so high that the price of provisions had not been thought of; but as the colonists produced nothing, the money was leaving South Australian shores daily to pay for the necessaries of life. These were imported from Hobart Town and from Sydney. A great deal of money was spent in malt liquors and spirits; of these a great quantity was drunk; money went to Manila and the West Indies for cigars and tobacco. Said the writer: "Some future historian will have to say of us, 'truly we are a nation of drinkers and smokers.'" All the money not absurdly invested in rash speculation in land went out of the colony for other purposes. To crown all, the bills of Governor Gawler (who did everything on a grand scale) came back dishonoured. The writer stated that he arrived in Adelaide in 1841. Affairs were in a bad state then, and they had been growing worse every day since. The only bright feature was that the harvest which had just been gathered in proved the soil to be excellent; sheep and cattle were increasing rapidly, and provisions had been reduced in price. "But," the writer said, "there is no money

in the colony." It had all gone to pay for three or four years' provisions consumed "while the immigrants lived in idleness." The colonists, without exception of rank or class, were completely paralysed by the sudden transition from a state of apparent prosperity to one of absolute prostration. "To add to our difficulties," the writer said, "our new Governor (Captain Grey) arrives with very limited powers, and he does not bring with him the money to pay Colonel Gawler's bills." The "bills are not paid to this day." Affairs being in so depressed a state farmers and others were not able to pay labourers if they hired them, and as many as 2,000, out of a population of 15,000, were receiving relief from the Government. Well might the writer add: "This is a sad state of things." The Governor ground down the poor men terribly. He paid labouring men, working 10 hours a day, with the thermometer at 100 or 110 degrees in the shade, 1s. 3d. per day without rations or lodging. There was another trouble. The immigrants brought to South Australia by the Emigration Fund were fast leaving the New Settlement. Every vessel from Port Adelaide was crowded with them. New Zealand was the favourite place of retreat. No less than five vessels were running between Port Adelaide and New Zealand. "Thus," the writer said, "I have attempted to sketch the present state of things, but if I were to attempt a prognostic for the year on which we have just entered, I confess that I have not sufficient data for very confident predictions." He thought that those possessed of sheep and cattle could not fail to do well. Those following agricultural pursuits might do well, and certainly would do so if they could produce corn for exportation. The more the writer saw of the colony the more was he impressed with its uniqueness. South Australia possessed this peculiar excellence: it presented fewer difficulties in the way of settling in it than were to be found in most countries. No more labourers should come to it in its present condition, and no people without money.

A little later "A Gentleman in Adelaide" wrote to the London *Times* again. This letter, too, has considerable historical value. He stated that it was nearly three months since a vessel had arrived from England. Consequently the immigrants were without any letters and the Governor without any definite instructions from the Colonial Secretary, though intelligence was looked for with intense anxiety, as poverty, discontent, and actual starvation existed among many hitherto prosperous colonists. Capital was the only thing wanted to develop the resources of the colony. The colony could be

compared to a rich mine. As some outlay, risk, and some expense must be incurred before the ore could be brought from the bowels of the earth, so labour and money must be spent by a people who go forth to "make war with the desert," to subdue the earth, and to cultivate it. He told how Governor Grey, "no doubt acting under instructions," was pursuing a course diametrically opposite to that pursued by Governor Gawler. Whether right or wrong, it was too sudden a change for the small community to bear. As a consequence the Government was obliged to support many labourers and mechanics "as paupers" who were previously in full employment. The Governor had amalgamated offices, reduced salaries, discharged clerks, messengers, and labourers from every department. All the evils in the colony were not to be attributed to the change in the government, to the Commissioners in England, nor to Governor Gawler. Nothing worth mentioning in the way of agriculture had been done till the last year (1841). The writer put the pertinent question: "Whose fault is this?" Was it the colonists'? He went on to say: "Let me ask, could it be expected that the settlers would commence while wages were so high? Immigration kept pouring in upon us, and yet the increase of population seemed but to increase the rate of wages.[30]

The high rate of wages led to a state of great profusion and luxury among the working classes, and this, with the purchase of all the necessaries of life outside the colony, turned the tide completely against the settlers. The circulating capital of the colony became absorbed and the crisis came. Many causes, beyond the control of the Government or the colonists, that could not be foreseen or guarded against materially aided in bringing about the distress. The writer thought that the colonists could boldly claim, and were entitled to, the sympathy and support of the Home Government. The state of the colony was a perfect anomaly. In the midst of plenty the settlers were almost starving. They could not complain of a sterile soil or blighting seasons; no, the soil was fertile, the seasons fruitful, and the climate genial. The crops generally had more than answered the expectations of the settlers and the flocks and herds had greatly increased. "Here is a country," the writer said, "beautifully fertile and capable of abundant gifts for the plough, the fleece, and the vine, for horses, cattle, and sheep, yet the colony is in a state of bankruptcy. All is darkened and negatived . . . for

(30) The explanation was that the people were living on their capital, which was soon eaten up; then apparent prosperity gave way to poverty.

the want of money." Meanwhile the conduct of the Home Government added to the settlers' trouble. "They undertook to work a cure for the evils of our system; a struggle for power ensues; and we become the subject of the most cruel neglect." The Governor remained without his long-looked-for despatches, and the hopes raised by the resolutions of the House of Commons were deferred till the hearts of the settlers were sick. Said the writer: "If the debts due on account of the colony are to be paid, why not pay them and save our credit and good name?" Governor Grey's bills would never need have been drawn but for the non-payment of his predecessors in the first instance. The writer added: "The neighbouring colonies are in much the same predicament as ourselves, but not to the same extent. I have still, as I ever had, a great attachment to the colony. The good land is not extensive, not one-fourth of the colony is available as far as we are at present acquainted with it, though I have no doubt that many good patches will be discovered as it becomes further explored. I never saw a finer country. The splendid tracts of country that I have been over in the course of my travels more than ever convince me that it stands unrivalled. Land, labour, and production are now cheap, and nothing is wanting but the circulation of a little of 'the ready' (to use a colonial phrase) to infuse new life into us and put the settlers on their legs again. I must now conclude this already too lengthy epistle, and trust if you have not received other and better information this will in some measure explain the cause of the present depressed state of affairs in the colony."

This letter, discovered by me in the London *Times*, is one of the most valuable that has come down to us from our pioneer fathers. It throws interesting and instructive light on the period under review in this chapter.

STRUGGLES FOR POLITICAL FREEDOM.



King William Street, Adelaide, in 1846.

CHAPTER XIII.

STRUGGLES FOR POLITICAL FREEDOM.

The first four Governors appointed by the Crown were officers in the army or the navy. The Imperial authorities must have taken it for granted that men who could rule soldiers could rule free men. But such does not always follow. Communities cannot be ruled in the same way as armies. He who attempts to do so must fail. The Duke of Wellington was "a man of authority, having soldiers under him." He could say to one, "Go, and he goeth"; to another, "Come, and he cometh." He was a born military administrator, but failed as a ruler of free men. The general and the statesman move in different spheres.

The fourth Governor of the young Province of South Australia was Major Robe, of the Royal Irish Fusiliers. At the time of his appointment he was occupying a military position at Gibraltar. He arrived by the *Elphinstone* on October 14th, 1845.

No doubt Major Robe was an excellent military officer. He could demand obedience and exercise discipline, but he knew very little of the art of "governing" men. Perhaps no Governor felt more truly than he the "uneasiness of the head that wears the crown."

Soon after his arrival John Stephens, editor of the leading pioneer paper, wrote of him as follows:—"Whilst we both deplore and deprecate the ignorant, ill-natured bearing of the man to whose care the destinies of this rich and rising colony are for the moment confided, we can scarcely find language strong enough to express our detestation of the principles which could induce a minister of the British Crown to impose upon an already sufficiently ill-used community as their Governor one whose manners and understanding seem rather to qualify him for the office of a martinet than for the representative of the bright and friendly lady who now fills the throne of Great Britain."

The reader must not take all this seriously. Perhaps the editor of the leading paper of the young colony was unwell. All the Governors came in for some degree of severe criticism. Speaking of Governor Robe the Hon. B. T. Finniss (who knew him well) said: "He was a blunt, honest soldier, not prepossessing in his manner, but under this ex-

terior he possessed a warm and amiable nature and real ability in the requirements of his profession, though he was not versed in the arts of persuasion and oratory, and had studied little the march of liberal opinions in civil government. He was, at the same time, a High-Churchman, and took no pains to conceal it, or to conciliate the Nonconformists as Governor Grey had done." Sir Samuel Davenport, one of the worthiest of our pioneers, writing to me, said: "Colonel Robe in himself was an eminently kind and honourable man." Sir Samuel, who saw the social as well as the official side of the Governor's character, was in a position to speak with authority.

Making every allowance for the tendency of human nature to find fault, the fact remains that Governor Robe was unpopular, and continued so to the end of his term. As a private gentleman his demeanour was all that one could desire, but as a Crown official he was too austere and magisterial. He tried to govern a body of free men much on the same principles as officers govern armies. Is it any wonder that he failed?

On one occasion he charged the non-official members of the Council with "dishonourable conduct." There was a scene. Captain Bagot asked that the statement should be withdrawn. His Excellency said that he had used the phrase advisedly and would do so again. The Council adjourned and the Governor had time to consider the position. On the next occasion when the Council met he made an explanation. It was to the effect that he had used the term hastily, but he would be willing to supply any other term, *equally applicable*, which might suggest itself to honourable members. He would most fully and unequivocally withdraw the expression, leaving it to each honourable member to supply the blank according to the dictates of his own heart. This somewhat clever ruse did not satisfy Major O'Halloran, who was also an Irishman. He rose "with much warmth" and demanded "a full, complete, and unconditional retractation of the expression which had been made use of by His Excellency," stating that "nothing less would satisfy him as a gentleman, as a soldier like His Excellency, and one who held his place at the Council table as representing his Sovereign and the colonists. The insult had been publicly made, and he demanded a full, public, and unconditional retractation. He trusted that His Excellency, as a gentleman and a soldier, belonging to the same profession in life as himself, having committed an error, would make the retractation that he had demanded." After a fur-

ther explanation by the Governor the storm subsided, but these political breaches and recriminations leave a sting.

It fell to Governor Robe's lot to introduce some unwelcome legislation. Great mineral wealth had been discovered in the colony. The Imperial Government wished to lay some of this under tribute. The subject had been mooted in Governor Grey's time. Governor Robe was in favour of the proposal. He thought that there ought to be reservations, so far as mineral wealth was concerned, on the sale of all lands not yet alienated from the Crown. In relation to land already sold he thought that the early settlers who had purchased these lands, and "who had borne the ills of an infant settlement," were entitled to any reward, in the way of mineral wealth, on their property that they might receive.

The Governor and the Crown officials framed a Bill the offending clause in connection with which was as follows:

"On all waste lands of the Crown hereafter to be alienated . . . there will be reserved to Her Majesty one-fifteenth of all metal and ores lying upon, in, or under such lands, payable in kind at the mouth of the pit, shaft, gallery, or quarry from which they may be raised. . . . A right of free access to all mines by duly appointed servants of the Crown. . . . A right to select, for free occupancy, a portion of land not exceeding one quarter of an acre, near the mouth of every pit, shaft, gallery, or quarry for a residence or store for such person as may be appointed to receive the Queen's dues. . . . Land in general to be sold as heretofore, but with the reservation already stated."

These proposals aroused a storm of indignation. The public Press represented them as "an arbitrary impost on the mineral wealth of the colony, laid on in a manner altogether so illegal and unprecedented that unqualified and united resistance to it becomes the absolute duty on the part of all the colonists." "The question," said the Press, "at the present moment is not whether a tax upon minerals raised from the mines in the Province is a tax such as the colonial Legislature might impose, and the mine proprietors be fairly called upon to pay; the main point is: Has the Crown power to make reservations in the sale of waste lands within the colony save those expressly authorized by the Land Sales Act?" Two leading solicitors in the Old Country said "Yes." This the colonists disputed. One difficulty was that much land had been sold under the existing Act and mines had been opened up. The proposed legislation was regarded as making an invidious distinction. Not only so, but the emigrants had come to the colony with the distinct understanding that there was to be no

reservation of minerals; and, more than this, the proposal to reserve a block of land near the pit's mouth for a residence or store for the officer who was "to receive the Queen's dues" was looked upon as an unwarranted attempt at espionage.

It must be understood that the royalties were to be applied to the public service of the colony.

An indignation meeting of the colonists was called. It was the most numerously attended meeting ever held in the new Province. The settlers assembled on a block of land at the corner of King William Street and North Terrace, somewhere near where the Bank of New South Wales now stands. Here a platform was erected.

The first resolution was moved by JAMES HURTLE FISHER. Said he: "They had met to complain of certain regulations made by the Governor, with the consent of the Executive Council. By the Act establishing the Province all land was declared open to purchase, without reservation, except for the purpose of roads and footpaths. The Commissioners issued a regulation that nothing either above or below the land would be reserved. Not only did they issue this regulation, but they followed it out by making sales under it, which sales were followed by the issue of land grants which expressly conveyed all minerals to the purchaser."

EDWARD STEPHENS, the pioneer banker, made a most vigorous speech. He affirmed that "Her Majesty never had under that flag (pointing to the Royal Ensign that waved in the breeze at Government House) a more devoted and loyal people. They had left the home of their fathers, but they were Britishers still. They came hither to perpetuate her institutions, to introduce and venerate her laws, to share her privileges, to be governed by her wisdom, to link their destinies to hers, but they came also to enjoy her freedom. They went forth alone and unaided by the Parent State to a land whose existence was almost unknown to extend the boundaries of her empire, and by their energies, their industry, and their capital to add another flourishing Province to her dominions. Did England out of her Treasury assist them? Did she give to their departure pomp or circumstance? No. They crossed the wide waste of waters in humility, but with fixity of purpose; in peace, but with fervency of hope; to make for themselves a home and to found an empire in the wilderness. Not one shilling did England contribute. Nay, more. Let it not be forgotten that before she suffered them to quit her shores she compelled them to leave behind 20,000 pledges in the shape of so many pounds sterling that they should not

be a burden upon the Parent State.[31] English statesmen conveyed the land to us in fee simple. We discover its riches and they turn round and say, 'We'll trouble you for that back again.' True, you have gone from one end of the world to another on an adventure which might have proved ruinous; true, you have turned the desert into a garden; true, you have planted and sown in sorrow, and expended life's best energies in your enterprise; but what of that? Ah! What of that? says my Lord Stanley. True, you have faithfully fulfilled your pledge, but we will not fulfil ours; and now, by a *coup de main*, he wrests from South Australia its distinctive character as a colony. If there was one duty (if duty it could be called) more hateful than another it was that of a Government spy; but not only were they to have the spy, but a quarter of an acre was to be reserved (for the spy) at the mouth of each pit. This he would say: That if a hireling was to be planted in the way proposed he should be astonished if he remained always at the *pit's mouth*."

After the speeches a petition to the House of Lords and the House of Commons against the proposed legislation was adopted and signed.

Previous to this meeting another had been held at which a petition had been adopted for presentation to the Queen. Major O'Halloran, as chairman of that meeting, was to present it to the Governor. It contained the names of some of the most influential settlers. The deputation journeyed to Government House and requested an audience with the Governor. They were received in the drawing-room by the private secretary. His Excellency entered. All bowed. The Governor's response was a slight careless half-nod. Said Major O'Halloran: "May it please Your Excellency— As chairman of the late public meeting it devolves upon me to present to Your Excellency the memorial then adopted, as also to request you to transmit to Her Majesty the address of the colonists, for although the gratifying intelligence has reached us that Lord Stanley's offensive Waste Lands Bill has not received the sanction of the House of Commons, it has been deemed no less desirable that Her Majesty should be made acquainted with the feelings of the colonists."

His Excellency (with slight impatience): "Then I am to understand that this is a deputation from the public meeting of the 13th?"

[31] In the flow of his oratory he forgot that when the Province was nearly wrecked England advanced the money to meet the liabilities.

MAJOR O'HALLORAN: "Yes, sir. With your permission I will first read the memorial to Your Excellency."

HIS EXCELLENCY: "If you please."

The substance of the memorial was that "in order to afford the colonists an opportunity of obtaining relief from the oppressive measure of which they complained (the imposition of royalties) His Excellency would suspend or defer the operation of that measure within the Province until an appeal had been made to the Queen for protection."

HIS EXCELLENCY (in cold, caustic tones): "Your memorial stigmatizes as oppressive certain proposed measures of the Queen's Government having reference to Her Majesty's waste lands in this part of her dominions, and you request me, in the event of those measures having actually passed the Houses of Parliament, to interpose such authority as may be confided to me in order to frustrate for a period the intentions of the Queen and Parliament. It is barely consistent with common sense to imagine that such a large discretion would in any case be confided to a local Governor of so distant a possession of the Crown, and you make this request at a time when it is a matter of public notoriety that the measures of which you complain have not met the sanction of the Imperial Parliament. Under these circumstances you will not be surprised at my declining to give any other reply to your memorial than an assurance that I will at all times feel a pleasure in being made the medium of transmitting, for presentation to the Queen, the dutiful and loyal petitions and addresses which Her Majesty's subjects in this Province may desire to have laid at the foot of the throne."

This studied, oracular, condescending, and magisterial utterance must have taken the humiliated deputation by surprise. Tradition does not say whether or not they retreated backwards. They withdrew, and after leaving the precincts of Government House a halt was called, and the staggered deputation, having slightly recovered, again read the imperious gubernatorial reply.

John Stephens, the brilliant editor of *The Observer* (who we believe was one of the deputation), said: "His Excellency read his speech in a clear and emphatic tone. Perhaps we can hardly describe it better than by saying that it was precisely in the spirit of the words. He reminded us of some man-of-war captain of the old school addressing a mutinous crew who had signed a round robin, and whom he was dismissing to their duty with a hint that they should be thankful he had not stopped their grog."

This circumstance suggests another episode in the administration of Major Robe. Some of the leading colonists waited upon him with a petition asking that State-aid to religion might be delayed. After the petition had been read he simply said: "Gentlemen, I have no reply to make," and bowed them out.

The first reading of the Royalties Bill was moved on September 30th, 1846. JOHN MORPHETT said that he must rise to oppose the Bill at this early stage. He was quite aware that in so doing he was adopting a novel course.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Alfred M. Mundy) interrupted. "He rose on a point of order. He did not see what right honourable members had to speak on the first reading of a Bill."

JOHN MORPHETT (continuing): "In this instance his objections to the Bill were so strong that he thought himself bound to oppose it in every way and at every stage."

The Bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read the second time on the following Friday. The day came. The ADVOCATE-GENERAL (William Smillie) moved the second reading of the Bill.

Again JOHN MORPHETT rose. "He must oppose it. He denied the authority of the Secretary of State or the Queen herself to resume rights which had been solemnly ceded when the Bill was passed establishing the colony. The Royalty Bill was an unjust Act and an inquisitorial one."

MAJOR O'HALLORAN, CAPTAIN BAGOT, and SAMUEL DAVENPORT took up the same position.

When the Council divided the Governor announced that the amendment moved by Mr. Morphett had been lost and the second reading of the Bill was carried (on the casting vote of the Governor). Then there was a scene. Instantly the four non-official members one after another rose, bowed to the Governor, and then walked out. The Strangers' Gallery was crowded. There were cries of "Bravo!" The Governor for a moment was nonplussed. He said a few words to some of his officials and looked at the vacant seats. There was no quorum. The business of the small community was at a standstill. He then said: "The Council stands adjourned."

When the Council next met the Governor had a rod in pickle for the protesting members.

The ADVOCATE-GENERAL moved that the Council should go into Committee on the Bill.

GOVERNOR ROBE rose. Said he: "After the unfortunate occurrence of last Friday he thought it right to second the

motion himself merely to give him an opportunity of expressing his regret at the course the non-official members had thought fit to adopt. He had reason to believe that some of them at least were convinced that they had adopted an unconstitutional mode of opposing the Government. By such a retirement, not leaving sufficient to form a quorum, the power of legislation was held in abeyance. It was very far from his disposition to deny them any lawful mode of resisting a measure, but the course they had adopted was clearly at variance with the constitution of the Council. It was therefore his duty to give them the option of again supporting the dignity and authority of the Crown."

Up rose JOHN MORPHETT to oppose the motion. He stated that he must claim the power to use his own judgment and to adopt that course best calculated to subserve the interests of the colony and the Crown. It was for that purpose, he conceived, that the Queen had placed him there. He opposed the motion, as he believed the Bill to be inexpedient and unlawful. He claimed the right of retiring when he could not conscientiously support any measure. He moved—"That it was inexpedient to go into committee on the Bill for the collection of royalties until His Excellency the Governor shall have received from the Right Honourable the Secretary of the State information as to the fate of the Bill proposed to be introduced by the Secretary of the State during the sessions of 1846 into the House of Commons."

SAMUEL DAVENPORT seconded the amendment, and it was supported by CAPTAIN BAGOT and MAJOR O'HALLORAN. Said the Major: "He considered that he had done perfectly right in retiring, and should have been a traitor to his adopted country had he done otherwise. He had the authority of no less a man than Governor Grey for saying that the course he and the other honourable members had adopted was constitutional. He had asked Governor Grey what he should do in the event of a measure being forced by the Government, and his answer was: 'Retire from the room.'"

The ADVOCATE-GENERAL (William Smillie) defended the action of the Governor in giving his casting vote in favour of the Bill. He condemned the action of the four members who had retired from the Council Chamber. Said he: "The dignity of the Crown required that the motion he had moved should be carried."

Again the members of the Council came to "the parting of the ways." The Governor and his three official nominees representing the Crown were pitted against the four non-

official nominees representing the people. The Council divided. John Morphett's amendment was lost—lost on the casting vote of the Governor. The motion was carried.

It was a moment of great suspense. . Great issues were trembling in the balances. In the Strangers' Gallery there was breathless silence. Would the four dissenting members again retire? After a pause GOVERNOR ROBE rose. Said he: "Having vindicated the dignity of the Crown and asserted its right to insist upon the presence of its members, he had no hesitation in saying that he should, in deference to the strongly expressed opinion of all the non-official members, authorize the withdrawal of the Bill. At the same time he must repeat that he should on no occasion suffer members to absent themselves without permission."

It was a delightful ending for the time being to a great difficulty. No doubt all parties in the Council and the colonists were much relieved. It was a happy stroke of the stern old Governor's. There were loud cheers in the gallery which could not be suppressed, in the midst of which Major O'Halloran rose to thank His Excellency.

The question suggests itself: How would the British Government regard the withdrawal of the Bill by the Governor and the action of the non-official members in retiring from the Council room?

In a despatch to Governor Robe the Secretary of State (Earl Grey) said: "Considering the decided opposition which that measure met with in the Council you acted wisely in withdrawing it." He added: "You will continue to sell the Crown lands subject to a reservation of one-fifteenth of the minerals contained within them." But the Governor was advised to be very cautious. "You will abstain," said Earl Grey, "from bringing in any fresh measures on the subject. You will also avoid adopting any measures for the collection of the dues which would bring the Government into collision with the proprietors, or raise considerable controversies." He expressed a hope that Governor Robe would not find it necessary to abandon this plan of raising revenue by an impost upon mineral wealth.

With regard to the question of the power of the Governor to compel the attendance of the non-official members of the Council, or to enforce their retirement, Earl Grey said: "I certainly subscribe to the principle that a wilful and pertinacious refusal (especially a concerted refusal) to exercise a public franchise involves a forfeiture of that franchise." That is, the Governor, according to the ruling of Earl Grey, had the right to remove offending members from their office.

But he was advised to be very discreet. "The time had come," Earl Grey said, "when, in the judgment of Her Majesty's Government, representative institutions should be accorded to South Australia." At such a time he was to be careful not to bring the people into conflict with the Crown.

Writing to me fifty-four years after this historical event Sir Samuel Davenport said: "I knew nothing of the intention of the other non-official members. I knew only that to impose royalties on public lands was a distinct breach of faith on the terms under which (from the first) the British public had been specially induced to buy land in the colony, and so most earnestly had I informed the Governor that I could be no party to such enactment. The four non-official nominees rising and leaving at the same time, however, would not unnaturally induce in the mind of a military Governor the suspicion of a conspiracy, and I felt I should rather have sent in a resignation. However, Governor Robe took complacently our individual subsequent explanations, and I concluded the proposal of royalties had come to the Governor as an order from England."

The division in the Council over the Royalty Bill demonstrated the need for some constitutional change. The constitution of the Council was such that it brought the Crown into conflict with the people. The four non-official members voted in the interests of the people; the Governor and the three official members represented the Crown; there was a deadlock to be decided by the casting vote of the Governor.

STRUGGLES FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.



Governor Robe.

CHAPTER XIV.

STRUGGLES FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

The pioneers came from a land in which there was an Established Church. It is not a matter of surprise that many desired to see such in South Australia. It was a Christian Commonwealth that our fathers wished to build up, and it was the conviction of many of them that in order to do so the State, in a monetary sense, must support the Christian religion. There were others—good men and true —who looked upon the Church and State as two distinct spheres, and who were wedded to what is known as the voluntary principle.

Over this question the pioneers were divided into two factions, and the administration of Governor Robe will be ever memorable as the time when the question of State-aid *versus* the voluntary principle was brought to an issue.

The first immigrant to utter a word of warning was David McLaren. Before the colony had been founded eight months he published the following letter: —

"We have an Episcopal Church, the worship of which is conducted by our excellent friend, Mr. Howard, who is deservedly popular. The Episcopal Church, we know, is the Established Church in England, but not in South Australia, and I have no hesitation in saying I trust it will never be. I trust we shall never see in this our adopted country any church by law established, but earnestly do I pray that here the true Church of Christ may prosper, and be extensively established in the hearts of a willing people."

Some months after a correspondent signing himself "Churchman" revived the subject. He stated that the Episcopal Church in South Australia was by law established, and that an effort would soon be made to grant, out of the colonial revenue, an annual sum for religious purposes generally and for the support of clergymen of the Establishment. In the Act establishing the colony the thin edge of the State-aid wedge had been inserted by provision being made for the appointment of chaplains.

Governor Gawler was an earnest Christian man. State-aid to religion powerfully appealed to him. It was his wish that land purchased by private parties for the support and maintenance of religion and education should be charged at

only one-fourth or one-half of the ordinary selling price; that persons devoting part of their land for religious or educational purposes should be allowed to select land elsewhere to the value of one-half or three-quarters of the original cost of the land donated. Governor Gawler also wanted a continuance of the provision made by Act of Parliament for the appointment of colonial chaplains, the number, however, "being so limited as to prevent any support that could reasonably be complained of as burdensome by the Dissenters."

He called a meeting of the ministers of the different denominations in Adelaide and its vicinity to consider his proposals, "but could not get unity of support." Said he in a despatch to the Secretary of State: "They strongly maintain their point that the State should not support religion in any way. . . . As, however, a large and respectable portion of the community hold the directly opposite of these opinions" the Governor would suggest to his lordship the propriety of amending the Act dealing with the appointment of chaplains in the way he had indicated.

It will thus be seen that for a long time the subject had been agitating the public mind, but nothing definite was done. There was parleying between the two opposite camps, but war had not been actually declared. It remained for Governor Robe voluntarily to take the initiative. He was the one man equal to the task. Though the heavens should fall and the elements melt with fervent heat, he would do what he conceived to be his duty.

In a despatch to Earl Grey Governor Robe said: "Up to the present time, although the population of South Australia exceeds 20,000 souls, the only grant from the public Treasury towards religious instruction is about £350 a year to a clergyman of the Church of England." There were several chapels or meeting-houses built by Dissenters, but as a rule these were small. To these Episcopalians had sometimes to go from want of ministers of their own persuasion. The Governor went on to say: "Religious instruction had been a charge on the produce of the land from the earliest stages of the world." The relief of the land from this charge was but a modern innovation. "Whether the Mosaic proportion of one-tenth is, or is not, adapted to the present age," the Governor said, "it was not his purpose to discuss." He "thought that something ought to be done in the way of aiding religion out of the local revenues of South Australia." The Governor suggested that 10 per cent. of the land revenue should be devoted to this purpose. "My previous des-

patches," said he, "will apprise your lordship of the present state of the land revenues, and, as regards the appropriation of any portion of it to religious purposes, you will have much more able counsel from His Grace of Canterbury."

On June 24th, 1846, he introduced the subject into the Council. Said he: "It would appear that South Australia is the most backward of all the colonies of the British Empire in providing from its public revenues for the means of worshipping that Being to whom we owe our existence and all the blessings we enjoy. Let it no longer be a reproach upon the Government of the Province having control over the public finances. The members of the Church of England, forming more than one-half of the entire population, have lately received the benefit of two additional clergymen. . . . The due apportioning of Government aid among the different sects of professing Christians is a question of some difficulty, but it is not, I trust, insurmountable."

Those who desired the Government grant immediately set to work. There was no delay. The day after the Governor's address John Morphett presented a petition to the Council asking for the grant-in-aid. It said:—

"That your petitioners, while they rejoice in the present temporal prosperity of the colony, view with feelings of painful apprehension the great destitution of the means of moral instruction for the inhabitants of the Province.

"That while your petitioners fully appreciate and desire to see brought into general operation the voluntary principle, they cannot close their minds to the fact that it has hitherto proved utterly inadequate to supply the destitution.

"That your petitioners, therefore, humbly but earnestly pray Your Excellency and honourable Council to take under your consideration this important subject."

The petition was very skilfully expressed. "While the petitioners desired to see brought into general operation the voluntary principle," yet "they could not close their minds to the fact that it had proved utterly inadequate." They did not boldly ask that the grant should be given, but that "His Excellency and honourable Council should take the important subject into consideration."

Those opposed to the grant were not inactive. At once a meeting was held in the South Australian Company's office. A memorial was drawn up and signed. *The Register* affirmed that of all the subjects "broached by the Governor the most dangerous and impracticable of all—worse a thousand times than the imposing of royalties—was State support to the clergy."

At the next meeting of the Council a memorial against the grant was presented by Mr. SAMUEL DAVENPORT. It was signed by all the Nonconformist ministers and by many of the immigrants.

In presenting the petition Mr. DAVENPORT delivered an able speech against the proposal.

The subject of State-aid to religion is a most important one. There are no questions on which men feel more deeply than religious ones. It will be most interesting to see how our pilgrim fathers dealt with this thorny subject. The better, the more realistic plan, will be to give an epitome of the speeches.

It was JOHN MORPHETT who led the party in favour of the grant. He moved: "That His Excellency be requested to introduce into the estimates for the year 1846 a sum . . . which shall be available to the respective bodies of Christians."

This was seconded by the REGISTRAR-GENERAL (Captain Charles Sturt).

CAPTAIN BAGOT was opposed to the proposal. He would vote for the building of schools and the temporary payment of teachers, but in this case he would stipulate that they should be distinct from religion. In Ireland he had done all that he could to unite religion with instruction, but experience had shown him that it could not be done.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Alfred M. Mundy) was in favour of State-aid. The voluntary principle, he thought, would not be found sufficient in any place.

MAJOR O'HALLORAN considered that State-aid should be given to all classes of Christians willing to receive it.

The ADVOCATE-GENERAL (William Smillie) said he did not attack the voluntary principle, but if he were asked what he thought had been its effect here he should say at once that there was a great deficiency. The ministers were ill-paid.

JOHN MORPHETT'S motion was carried. Later on he moved: "That the sum of £1,110 10s. be introduced into the Estimates to be divided among the different sects of professing Christians in proportion to their numbers according to the census returns."

This was seconded by the REGISTRAR-GENERAL and supported by the COLONIAL SECRETARY and the ADVOCATE-GENERAL. Said the latter: "Let dissenters [32] go on and make as many proselytes as they could. God speed them! But if a vast number of sheep were out of the fold it was the duty of our rulers to look after them."

[32] Dissenters to the principle of State-aid.

Captain Bagot and Samuel Davenport opposed the motion, but it was carried.

The members of the Jewish faith had sent in a petition asking that if State-aid to religion were to become law that they should share in the grant.

Major O'Halloran moved: "That the Jews should be included in the grant." They contributed largely to the revenue and had as much right as others to participate.

The Advocate-General seconded.

John Morphett then moved a substantive motion that a grant of £5 16s. be made to the Jews.

Governor Robe said: "There is an objection to that, as it would be giving to the Jews twice as much as to the Christians."

The Colonial Secretary said: "I must object to this. It will look so ridiculous in the Estimates to see such a trifle as a separate item, and it cannot be of the slightest use to them."

Major O'Halloran replied: "I only want to establish the precedent. It is true that we only have fifty-eight Jews here at present, but we may have more. I have a great objection to partial legislation."

Captain Bagot said: "The Jews, though few, are wealthy, and probably contribute thirty times as much to the revenue as the average amount according to numbers. *But this shows the position in which you have placed yourselves.* The Jews have as much right to their share as the Christians have."

The motion giving £5 16s. to the members of the Jewish faith was carried.

Said Governor Robe: "Do you mean to propose pagans?"

Captain Bagot replied: "Most assuredly. All who contribute."

Said Major O'Halloran: "Certainly. I have been in all parts of the world and have seen much of the natives of India, and bear my testimony that more upright and honest men do not exist."

This somewhat undignified debate, of which I have given items, shows the difficulty in which a Government lands itself when it proposes to give monetary aid to religion.

The battle now raged in earnest. A League was formed for the "Maintenance of Religious Freedom in the Province." On the Committee were such representative names as Anthony Forster, William Giles, George S. Kingston, William Peacock, and John and Edward Stephens. Edward Stephens

was chosen chairman. The people had a mind to work, and £107 in the interests of the objects of the League was immediately subscribed. Its manifesto said: —

"Friends and Fellow-Colonists: For the first time since the formation of this colony the principle of State support to religion has been avowed and adopted by the Legislature. The right of every man to entire, unqualified freedom in all matters pertaining to religious belief and worship has been violated, and the claim of the State to make religion subservient to political purposes has been asserted.

"The evils involved in the principle of State support to religion have been sufficiently obvious to most, if not all of you in the Mother Country. It has impeded the spread of Christian principle by requiring mere outward conformity, and has, at the same time, imposed penalties upon a failure in these outward observations as though they were essential and all-important. It has thus corrupted religion by making it formal, and weakened the State by compelling it to persecute, and wherever carried out to its legitimate consequences it has proved an effectual bar to the advance of a community in any of the paths of social or material progress. Judged by its fruit it is condemned by the voices of experience from the first moment of its adoption to the present time.

"It is not, however, solely upon this universal experience of its results that its introduction is now resisted, but even more because its principles are opposed to the spirit of Christianity and subversive of the rights of conscience. Christianity is, in its very essence, a voluntary as contradistinguished from a State religion. It appeals not to nations, but to individuals. Its motives and its sanctions, its promisings and its threatenings, its consequences in this world and in the next, are purely individual and personal. It imposes upon every individual by whom it is embraced the obligation of contributing by his personal example, by the devotion of his time and wealth and energy to its maintenance and diffusion; but it rejects compulsion, and holds itself independent of the support of such as are indifferent and hostile. Those who believe in its Divine origin and who are acquainted with its history cannot imagine that it stands in need of support from the State; and those who know the spirit in which it was taught must feel that any compelled support destroys the very ground upon which alone a Christian believes that pure religion shall be diffused and prevail.

"And we further conceive that it is subversive of the rights of conscience. Of the various denominations of Christians many conscientiously believe that the doctrines

and forms of other sections are inconsistent with the spirit of their common faith. Any contribution by the State is therefore to compel every member of the State to aid in the support and propagation of doctrines of which he conscientiously disapproves, and thus to make him an agent in the dissemination and maintenance of what he believes to be error.

"In all political matters we know that obedience is due to the Government. We may doubt the expediency or even the justice of their measures, but we are still bound to obey them, except in those rare cases which we may hope will never arise in the colony. But in religion we owe no allegiance to the State. This is a matter beyond the control of Governments, and in which they cannot rightfully interfere. If the State should overstep its legitimate boundaries in this matter resistance is always the right, and may often be the duty, of every individual. It is a point in which there can be no concession and no compromise; and at all times and under all circumstances we are bound to protest against, and, so far as may be done by lawful and peaceful means, to impede the execution of laws which violate these our highest and most essential rights. We are ready to 'render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' but we render to God—and to God only—'the things that are God's.' "

A petition against State-aid to religion was forwarded to the Queen. In a despatch to Governor Robe the Secretary of State said: "You will acquaint the petitioners that I have not been able to advise the Queen to assent to their request. On the contrary it has been my duty humbly to submit to Her Majesty my opinion that the course pursued by the local Legislature, in applying some part of the local revenue towards the promotion of religious knowledge and education in the colony, merits Her Majesty's approbation. The Queen has been graciously pleased to adopt and sanction that opinion."

For the first half-year that the Bill was in operation the Churches received as follows:—

Episcopalian Church	£597	5	0
Roman Catholic Church	82	9	0
Church of Scotland	97	18	0
Methodist Church	112	6	0

Later on there was trouble in the Council over this question. Major O'Halloran was not satisfied with the way in which money voted by the Council for religious purposes was spent. He moved for copies of all correspondence which had taken place between the Government and the denomina-

tions which had forwarded returns of money received, and as to the manner in which such money had been expended.

Governor Robe objected. He thought that the church officers had done all that they were required to do by the Act. He did not think it wise to go into the temporal affairs of each denomination.

Samuel Davenport seconded Major O'Halloran's motion.

The Colonial Secretary (Alfred M. Mundy) stated that the Major had singled out the Episcopalian Church, and explained his action as the result of a dispute between the Major and some of the office-bearers of that church. He moved as an amendment—"That the statement already furnished by the office-bearers of the Episcopalian Church is in strict accordance with the Act of Council No. 13 of 1846, and that the information therein given is sufficient for the purposes of the Act."

R. F. Newland seconded the amendment. He considered that the Act had been passed on the principle that the money should be given without any restriction or interference by the Government.

Major O'Halloran disclaimed all private feeling or animosity. He wished it to be distinctly understood that he cast no reflection upon any office-bearers other than a want of judgment.

The Colonial Secretary thought that it was a question with which the Council had nothing to do.

Captain Bagot said it was reasonable that all public moneys should be under the scrutiny of the Council.

Governor Robe affirmed that the grant was made in the spirit that the various religious bodies should have unfettered control over the money voted.

The Colonial Secretary's amendment was carried, and Major O'Halloran "felt bound to make a protest which he begged might be entered on the minutes of the Council." The State-aid Bill was a veritable bone of contention.

In course of time this vexed question came up again.

Governor Robe laid upon the table another Bill providing for "The building of Places of Worship, and making provision for the maintenance of Ministers of Religion."

Again the South Australian League entered its protest. A petition on behalf of the League against the Bill was presented signed by Edward Stephens, John Brown (first Emigration Agent), A. H. Davis, and Richard D. Hanson.

In a long speech the Advocate-General (William Smillie) moved the second reading of the Bill, and the Colonial Secretary (Alfred M. Mundy) seconded.

As an amendment MAJOR O'HALLORAN moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

JACOB HAGEN asked: "Would the Council vote money to assist a number of Mussulmen to build a mosque? If not, they sat in judgment on their opinions. Great attention should be paid to the opinion of the colonists, and members should, in a great measure, be guided by the opinions of those out of doors. The Bill was a violation of the express principles on which the colony was founded. It was one of the inducements held out to early settlers that there should be no State interference with religion and no dominant church."

CAPTAIN BAGOT supported the motion of MAJOR O'HALLORAN shelving the Bill, as did SAMUEL DAVENPORT. The Major stated that it was no use pressing his amendment, as Governor Robe's casting vote would carry any Bill.

In committee JACOB HAGEN said it was impossible to legislate for religion at all without defining what kind of religion. He moved the insertion of the word Christian.

The GOVERNOR and COLONIAL SECRETARY supported the motion.

MAJOR O'HALLORAN said: "No." If the Chinese, Hindus, or New Zealanders came to South Australia he considered that they would be as fully entitled to their quota as members of the Christian religion. If the motion inserting the word Christian were carried the Jews would be shut out.

GOVERNOR ROBE replied that the Council was legislating for the Christian religion. The Bill for the promotion of Mohammedanism was not before them.

JACOB HAGEN'S motion was carried.

MAJOR O'HALLORAN affirmed that he would like to see inserted £20 instead of £150 as the amount to be raised by private contributions before a grant-in-aid of building would be given.

GOVERNOR ROBE stated that it was the intention of the Act to afford only such assistance as would lead to the building of twice as good a house as that which a denomination would otherwise have.

CAPTAIN BAGOT: "There were very useful chapels in the colony which did not cost more than £40. The Wesleyans in particular had sprinkled their chapels all over the colony, and from them at all hours the hymn of praise could be heard. It was the poor worshippers in the country who ought to be assisted."

JACOB HAGEN thought the sum of £20 to be too small, and would like to make it £40.

Major O'Halloran instanced a chapel in his neighbourhood which had not cost more than £40, the congregation of which on one Sunday had subscribed £9 for the relief of the poor in England. It was such persons who ought to be encouraged by the Government, not the rich.

The Colonial Secretary said that they had to guard against the encouragement of the smaller sects, who were by no means desirable.

Major O'Halloran: "The Creator could be worshipped as sincerely in a humble hut as in the proudest cathedral. Sometimes he went to a humble building in his own village and could pray there with as much fervour and zeal as in St. John's or St. Mary's. It was such places as these humble buildings that he would like to see encouraged."

Captain Bagot said the idea in making the sum of money so large as £150 was to create a dominant church.

It was finally agreed that the amount to be raised by private subscription before a grant could be given in aid of church building should be £50.

There was another long discussion, bristling with difficulties, as to the basis on which ministers' salaries should be supplemented. At the next meeting of the Council there were six petitions against the Bill. The third reading was carried.

These items of discussion are very suggestive. They teach valuable lessons in relation to State-aid, and the reader is requested to bear them in mind, as we shall have to again refer to the question.

Governor Robe found his position uncongenial. He made pressing application to be relieved of his duties. The Imperial authorities granted his desire. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and appointed Deputy-Quartermaster and General at Mauritius, with a salary of £1,000 a year and a seat in the Legislative Council.

He was a man of fine presence and very hospitable. One cannot help feeling some degree of admiration for him. Not only had he convictions, but the courage to express them. It was impossible for him to be a "Mr. Facing-both-ways." John Stephens, editor of *The Register*, who had severely criticized him, said: "Much as we have had occasion to differ from Colonel Robe as a politician, we cannot but respect his stern inflexibility of character and high sense of duty, which have invariably led him to sacrifice any love of popularity to public duty." The spirit of the man came out in his farewell address to the Council. "He wished them and the colonists individually health, wealth, and happiness.

In relinquishing the duties which had devolved upon him he looked to his Sovereign alone for any expression of approbation."

It will come as a revelation to many South Australians to-day that when Governor Robe vacated his position Captain Sturt, the discoverer of the Murray and of the interior of our Province, applied to the Imperial authorities that he might be appointed Governor of South Australia. The reply of the Secretary of State was that the position had been filled before Captain Sturt's application had come to hand.

The pretty little seaport town in the south-east of the Province (Robe) is named after Governor Robe. He died in England in 1872.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS EMANCIPATION.



Sir Henry Edward Fox Young.

CHAPTER XV.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS EMANCIPATION.

We now enter upon a new era. The foundations of the Commonwealth had been laid, and for some eleven years the pioneers had been raising the superstructure. But, as we have seen, they laboured under serious disadvantages. Not only were there financial and social reverses in the early part of their history, but up to the time of which we are speaking they were without political and religious freedom. The members of the Council were nominated by the Governor, and his casting vote was sufficient to keep in existence the Royalty Bill or State-aid to religion.

But a better time was coming. Sir Henry Edward Fox Young was appointed Governor. On March 11th, 1848, a banquet was held in his honour at the Albion Hotel, Aldersgate Street, London. W. Wolryche Whitmore was in the chair, forty or fifty gentlemen being present. The speech that Sir Henry delivered on this occasion so impressed the editor of the London *Times* that he was constrained to publish it in full. He spoke of it in the most complimentary terms. It was a "Statesmanlike deliverance." Sir Henry felt glad that he was called by Her Majesty to superintend the public service in a colony the cardinal principle of which was a provision to secure a continuance of an untainted stream of British emigration. He esteemed it to be no mean privilege to be a member of a community remarkably alive to the blessings of civil and religious liberty. Although by descent, education, and conviction a member of the Church of England, he nevertheless considered himself to be intimately incorporated in that far wider and more universal body which included the whole race redeemed by the Divine Saviour, and of which the Established Church was but a fractional part. So far then as lay in his power, both by precept and example he would try to inculcate in South Australia Lord Bacon's maxim that church controversies ought not to be like the briar and thistle, rending and tearing, but like the vine and olive, bearing useful fruit.

No doubt the new Governor was anticipating, perhaps with some anxiety, the coming struggle over the question of State-aid to religion in the colony over which he had been

called to rule. The few words of his address just quoted reveal him as a prudent and conciliatory man.

On August 1, 1848, the *Forfarshire* dropped anchor in South Australian waters, having on board the new Governor (Sir Henry Young) and his lady. They met with a chilling reception—more correctly with no reception at all. No heads of departments—not even the official nominees of the Crown—were present to board the vessel or to speak a word of welcome. What was termed a "unicorn coach" and two mounted policemen were sent down to the Port to await the Governor's arrival. When he landed the only cheers that greeted him were those of some half-dozen bargemen. No official was at the waterside to receive His Excellency and lady. No respectful demonstration followed. They came up to Adelaide in the "unicorn coach," escorted by the two mounted policemen. On arrival at Government House there was no guard of honour to receive him, nor any member of the Executive, and the "respectable colonists" were represented by a "knot of the unwashed" whose cheers were "anything but deafening." So said the versatile John Stephens, editor of *The Register*.

Can we not, at this time of day, discover a reason? The people had outgrown the system of government to which they had been subjected. The infancy of the colony had gone by. It was approaching manhood.

When the colony was proclaimed it was ruled by a body of Commissioners. These were appointed by the Crown. A Governor and a Resident Commissioner were sent out. It was a strange piece of legislation; a dual authority in the Old Land and a dual authority in the New. There was the danger of the Commissioners in England coming into conflict with the Crown, and of the Commissioner in the colony coming into conflict with the Governor. The possible and probable, as we have seen, became actual.

When Governor Gawler came out supreme authority was vested in him, and he was assisted by an Executive Council consisting of some of the Government officials. This was a step in the right direction.

When financial reverses overtook the colony, and the British Government came to the rescue and practically took control, the Commissioners' rule came to an end. This was a further step in the right direction.

In 1842 another improvement was made. An Act was passed for the "Better Government of South Australia." This, to a limited degree only, gave the settlers some voice in the management of their political affairs. A Legislative Coun-

cil was formed, composed of eight members, each nominated by the Crown.

A constitution of this kind could not long satisfy, especially when we remember that just previous to the founding of the colony England had rung with the cry for constitutional reform. Not only so, but when the new Legislative Council was constituted Governor Grey held out the promise that ere long the settlers would be granted a certain degree of control over their revenue and expenditure by the infusion of the element of popular representation into the Legislature. Then we must not lose sight of the fact that the constitution of the nominee Council led to strife and division, especially under Governor Robe's autocratic rule. It brought the people into conflict with the Crown. The four official nominees—paid servants of the Crown—voted in favour of Government measures. The four non-official members voted for legislation in harmony with the wishes of the people. There was a deadlock. The question was decided—and in some instances decided against the people—by the casting vote of the Governor. No legislation could be passed in opposition to the Governor's policy.

Under such circumstances as these the people could not be expected to give a very cordial welcome to a representative of the Crown. They had outgrown this kind of tutelage and were weary of nominee rule. No doubt this was the main reason why Sir Henry Young met with such a heartless reception.

The new Governor was unfortunate. The settlers were eagerly anticipating the time when the British Government would redeem its promise and give them "a more popular representation." After the arrival of Governor Young the people were full of expectancy. Had he brought a new Constitution? Were they to be no longer under tutelage?

The Governor took his seat in the Council and delivered his opening speech. It fell like a hailstorm in time of harvest. Expectations were disappointed, and the settlers experienced the "hope deferred" that "maketh the heart sick." Said John Stephens: "It was expected that when Sir Henry Young left England to assume the government of this colony he would bring with him the authority to introduce popular representation. Bitterly was the expectation disappointed in His Excellency's opening speech. Breathless was the expectation that awaited Sir Henry's euphonious delivery, but as soon as it was perceived that the whole burden of his message had reference to the augmentation of his own salary honourable members looked aghast and strangers in the gallery

turned their pale faces to the wall in mute astonishment, and when the first day's business was noised abroad the general feeling was one of sad disappointment or unmitigated disgust."

But Governor Young, like Governor Grey, was the man for the hour. He was a "repairer of breaches" and "restorer of paths to dwell in." At a glance he took in the position of affairs, and on his own responsibility suspended the operation of the obnoxious Royalty Bill. Shortly after his arrival the following announcement was gazetted:—

"His Excellency the Governor, with the advice of the Council of Government, has been pleased to direct that until the further signification of Her Majesty's pleasure the Crown lands will be sold in the same manner and subject to the same terms and conditions as before the 3rd of March, 1846."

This was a bold and sagacious stroke. His action at once secured for him the goodwill of the settlers. It was the very reverse of Governor Robe's. Loud were the demonstrations in his honour. The Press affirmed that his action was a proof that the colonists "now had a Governor of the character that they long had needed, and that it was the shadowing forth of better days." So it proved to be.

The Province was fortunate not only in securing a liberal Governor who could read the signs of the times, but in the advent of George Fife Angas, who had done so much to promote its interests. He arrived by the *Ascendant* on January 16th, 1851. The day after "Black Thursday" a banquet was spread in his honour. James Hurtle Fisher presided, and among the guests were the leading men of the Province. In his address Mr. Fisher said: "When the colonization scheme was in danger of collapse Mr. Angas stepped forward and founded the South Australian Company, with a view to completing the purchase of the remaining portion of land upon which the establishment of the colony depended. He did more than that; he embarked, on his own responsibility, many thousands of pounds, the safety of which at that time was precarious. By his instrumentality the money was raised on which depended the settlement of the Province. Then he (Mr. Fisher) would ask them—Were they really not indebted to his friend for the creation of the colony? What meed of praise was too high for him by whose spirited exertions a colony of such unexampled prosperity was founded? No colony exhibited such progress as South Australia had done in the very brief period in which it had been in existence."

Mr. Angas made a characteristic reply. In all the steps that he had taken he had been guided by principle. He was impressed with the importance of colonization rightly con-

ducted. It was that consideration which induced him to become a member of the Board of Commissioners. All he presumed to say was that he had worked with able coadjutors who all had as much right to honour and to credit as he had. They had been eminently successful. The history of the world did not furnish an instance of such triumphant success in colonization, mainly attributable to the courage, prudence, and industry of the pioneers of the Province. But it should be remembered that no wisdom of design, no vigorous carrying out of any scheme could secure success if the Divine blessing were withheld from it. Human wisdom could, indeed, effect but little if it were opposed to Divine power. Were it not for that merciful Providence he would not have been in their midst. With the development of natural resources they had not neglected to cultivate mind and morals, and he hoped they would pay increasing attention to those important considerations.

In the vessel that brought out George Fife Angas there came a new Constitution for the Province. When the ship cast anchor it could not be found. Ultimately it was discovered at the bottom of the Captain's dirty linen bag, the steward having hurriedly put it there for security, and then forgotten it.

It was an Act for the "Better Government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies." Colonists were still forbidden to interfere with the expenditure of their customs and excise departments, and the Crown lands were still to be administered by the Executive and Lords of the Treasury; provision was also made for the continuation of nomineeism, though on a much more limited scale.

The new Constitution provided for a Legislative Council to consist of twenty-four members, one-third to be nominated by the Crown and two-thirds elected by the colonists. Voting was to be by means of voting papers on which were to be entered the Christian name and surname of each voter, the nature of the qualifications, and where situated. The qualification was possession of a freehold property of the annual value of £100.

At once an agitation was begun for voting by ballot. Letters were written to the Press and meetings were held in Adelaide and the suburbs.

The old political regime that had existed for nearly eight years came to an end in February, 1851. The Legislative Council on the old basis was no more. In his valedictory address to the members the Governor said: "The ordinance which has just been enacted devolves upon me the issuing of writs for an enlarged Council under the new Con-

stitution, and from and after the dates of which writs the existing Council will be no more. Under these circumstances I cannot refrain from making one brief observation before we separate. Your successors, gentlemen, will have a field of universal extent and of universal responsibility; a field, however, well suited to the genius of Britons, and giving scope to that patriotic ambition of promoting the common weal which has ever been our national characteristic. In bidding you farewell, I feel it to be a public and most agreeable duty to tender to you the expression of my sincere and grateful appreciation of the harmony and good feeling which have uninterruptedly marked your co-operation with me in the business of legislation during the two and a half years in which I have had the honour of presiding in this Council." So ended another course in the Commonwealth that our fathers were building up.

Before the old Council became defunct the question of State-aid to religion again revived. As it would be some time before the new Council on the more popular basis would be elected, some members were anxious that payments should be made to the denominations accepting aid in the interim. JOHN MORPHETT rose "to perform what he considered to be a duty. It was probably the last time that the old Council would assemble. He thought it was his duty to move that His Excellency be empowered to continue State-aid until the new Council legislate on the subject."

MAJOR O'HALLORAN rose to say that he could not support the motion.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Captain Sturt) seconded the motion, and the REGISTRAR-GENERAL (Boyle Travers Finniss), with the ADVOCATE-GENERAL (William Smillie), supported it The motion was carried.

During the year 1850 grants to denominations had been made as follows: —

Toward supplementing ministers' salaries ...	£2,050	15	10
In aid of building churches—			
Episcopalian Church	1,465	0	0
Roman Catholic Church	510	0	0
Methodist Church	426	10	6
Church of Scotland	122	0	0

But the days of State-aid were numbered. The people for years had been up in arms against it. It was merely kept in existence by a majority of one or two votes in the old Council. Although some of the Methodist Church officials accepted the grant the majority of the members of that church were opposed to it. The acceptance of the grant

created schism in the body. It led to the retirement from the church of two worthy pioneers, Edward Stephens and Thomas Reynolds, men who made their mark in the State; it also led to the expulsion of some local preachers.

Searching in the public archives for material for this history in one of the pioneer papers I met with the following paragraph, published in 1847:—

"The Wesleyan Society of Happy Valley has been one of the most united and flourishing in the colony, but to a man its members were opposed to the reception of the unholy grant, and since its acceptance by office-bearers, who have avowedly disregarded the opinions of the people, the congregation has withdrawn *en masse* from the chapel and the meetings are held from house to house. The Rev. William Longbottom, unaware of the fact, went over, according to station list, to preach to them. After waiting in the deserted chapel for a considerable time, and marvelling much at the absence of the congregation, he was enlightened by one of the flock who was on his way to the more primitive form of service. He informed the minister of their unanimous resolve, assured him that nothing personal was intended toward him, but at the same time warned him that he would wait in vain, as not one of the Happy Valley people would, by his presence, sanction the appropriation of the Babylonish garment. The rev. gentleman had no course open to him but to mount his horse and return home."

The resurrection of this ancient paragraph will give the modern reader some idea how the souls of men were vexed and agitated over the question of State-aid to religion.

Writs were issued for the elections to the new Council. The first candidate in the field was Francis Stacker Dutton, a worthy pioneer builder, who became Agent-General for the Province in London.

Great interest was taken in the elections. A test question was State-aid to religion. It was necessary that the ablest men should be elected. These would not only have to deal with State-aid, but later on with an alteration of the Constitution to wipe out nomineeism and bring in responsible government. It was an epoch in the life of the people. They rose to the occasion. The League for the "Maintenance of Religious Freedom" was much in evidence. Flags were flying and banners were carried about the streets.

An evidence of the practical working of State-aid to religion is given in the following incident that occurred during the elections. It was from the pen of Walter Duffield, one of our nation-builders, who for some time sat in Parliament. Writing to *The Register* in 1851 he said:—

"As an illustration of the manner in which State grant-in-aid of religion is working I may instance the proceedings of the Rev. Michael —— at the polling-place at Salisbury. That gentleman not only attended there to give his vote for the grant candidate, but remained there throughout the day, apparently for the purpose of influencing electors; and I believe that he did actually succeed in depriving Mr. Hanson (opposed to the grant) of the votes of some electors who had attended to vote for that gentleman. I thought that the practice of priestly interference in politics had been left behind in the Old Country, but it appears that I am mistaken."

The elections to the new more representative Legislative Council took place in July, 1851, with the following result: —

The Province was divided into sixteen districts, to represent which sixteen members were chosen by the people. The other eight members were nominated by the Crown.

NOMINATED BY GOVERNOR YOUNG.

Official Nominees (paid servants of the Crown)—
Captain Charles Sturt (Colonial Secretary).
Boyle Travers Finniss (Registrar-General).
Richard D. Hanson (Advocate-General).
Robert R. Torrens (Collector of Customs).

Non-official Nominees—
John Morphett.
Edward C. Gwynne.
John Grainger.
Major Norman Campbell.

ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE.

Name.	District.
Francis S. Dutton	East Adelaide.
John B. Neales	North Adelaide.
Alexander L. Elder	West Adelaide.
George Hall	Port Adelaide.
George M. Waterhouse	East Torrens.
Charles Simeon Hare	West Torrens.
William Peacock	Noarlunga.
John Baker	Mount Barker.
Robert Davenport	Hindmarsh.
George Fife Angas	Barossa.
John Hart	Victoria.
Captain C. Bagot	Light.
William Younghusband	Stanley.
George S. Kingston	Burra.
John Ellis	Flinders.
William Giles	Yatala.

The Council met on August 20th, 1851, in the Supreme Court, Adelaide. Great interest was taken in the gathering. There was a large assembly of spectators. It was a national event. Heads of Churches, ministers of religion, and a "brilliant array of ladies" comprising a large proportion of "the beauty and fashion of Adelaide," magistrates, professional men, merchants, traders, and sturdy yeomen, "all good men and true," so the Press said, were present. The approaches to the collonade entrance of the court were lined by a strong body of the metropolitan police, while a military guard of honour and a squadron of the mounted constabulary drawn up in front of the eastern and western wings increased materially the "pomp and circumstance" of the occasion. A Royal salute was fired from the field guns stationed in the principal square of the city.

It reminds one of the day when the foundations of the colony were laid. The people were inspirited. They were proud of their representatives. These were the men whom they had chosen—the first-fruits of the franchise. It was the first representative assembly in the colony which the pioneers had founded.

On August 29th, 1851, the great battle over the question of State-aid began. Edward Castres Gwynne (one of the nominees) moved the first reading of a Bill "to continue an ordinance to promote the building of churches and chapels for Christian worship, and to provide for the maintenance of ministers of the Christian religion." He said: "With regard to the ultimate objects of the Bill it was impossible that there could be two opinions. It was impossible that any honourable member could dissent from the proposition that it was desirable to promote the Christian religion, or that religion and morals were an unmixed good, and the observance of public worship attended with countless advantages. Therefore there could be no objection to the objects of the Bill. There would be discussion on the principle of the measure. The Bill made no distinction between Christian bodies; it proposed to aid the common Christianity. It fostered the system known as the voluntary system, because it did not propose to give unconditionally, but to give supplementary aid. The State assumed the position of an indulgent parent who, desirous of encouraging habits of economy in a child, would say: Save one shilling and I will give you another. The principle of the Bill was to promote what was good and to stimulate the efforts of the much-talked-of voluntary system."

The Colonial Secretary (Hon. Captain Sturt) seconded the motion.

Captain Bagot rose with a view of accounting to the House why the honourable members who were with him would not follow the usual course of allowing the first reading of the Bill to pass without comment. The Bill that he held in his hand supplied a sufficient explanation of and excuse for the course they had determined to adopt. There was nothing for them to deal with but the principle. He thought that it would be well if they could come to a determination upon the subject without debate—without raising acrimonious feeling.

Captain John Hart then proposed—"That the Bill should be read the first time that day six months." This was tantamount to its rejection. He was willing to aid religion in special cases, as they might be brought before the Council, but he was convinced that the battle had been fought out of doors, and he thought that the measure was brought before them as an apple of discord. If they threw out the Bill at that stage they would prevent much ill-feeling.

George S. Kingston seconded the amendment and expressed his regret that the Bill should have been introduced after the all but unanimous demonstration of the colonists against it.

Major Campbell, although he thought the Bill would be thrown out, felt that it was their duty as legislators to evince a desire to support the Christian religion. He felt that to refuse to support it would be to degrade it in the eyes of the public; to reduce it apparently to the level of paganism. He believed that the people had not the means to build churches or to maintain ministers. He had hoped that the Bill would have been modified; that no support would be granted to towns, only to the thinly-populated districts. His views were against the provisions of the Bill, though he agreed with the principle.

William Peacock was not pledged to his constituents to oppose the grant further than having expressed to them his conscientious objection to the measure.

Robert Davenport advocated the voluntary principle.

The Registrar-General (Hon. B. T. Finniss) felt convinced that thousands came to the colony in the hope of finding provision made for religion, and that, as at home, Christianity was part and parcel of the law of the land. Why should the State be excluded by law from contributing to the support of the Christian religion which was part of the common law of the country?

George Hall had great satisfaction in supporting the first reading of the Bill. He could hardly realize the idea,

much less the stern reality, that a community so blessed and favoured by Providence should refuse to devote a portion of its wealth to the service of God. They had taken the oath of allegiance to their beloved monarch, and he would say that to throw out the present Bill would be the first step to throwing off their allegiance to the King of kings.

CHARLES SIMEON HARE—Nonsense.

JOHN BAKER was not opposed to the principle of the Bill, for he was returned pledged to support State-aid to country districts. It was said that the battle had been fought out of doors, but if all battles were to be fought out of doors what was the use for the House to assemble? He would beseech those members who were disposed to throw out the Bill to have it discussed. Great injury would be done to the character of the colony if it were noised abroad that a measure so important had been thrown out without due discussion.

FRANCIS S. DUTTON said that those who were opposed to the measure had come to the conclusion that it would be advisable to decide the matter without long discussion. The wisdom of such determination was apparent from the fact that one honourable member who had announced himself as a man of peace in warming to the subject had lost his temper. If this occurred on the first reading, what might they expect if the Bill reached a second stage? He had informed his constituents that as a trustee for the public he should vote against the measure.

ALEXANDER L. ELDER held that the Bill should not be entertained at all. He had seen a great deal of antagonism between the Government and the people, and it was high time for such things to end. He did not come to offer a factious opposition, but seeing the present measure he despaired of peace. Five years ago the unjust measure was passed, and he well remembered the indignation manifested at a large and important public meeting. He was one of a deputation appointed to remonstrate with Governor Robe, and he could never forget the insulting reply with which he had met their application to delay the measure. The country was alive to the character of the hateful measure, and resolved to get rid of it. He was convinced that religion could propagate itself without Government aid. He saw the unity and fellowship that once existed between denominations destroyed by the measure before the House. A despotic Governor, with all the haughtiness of a Russian autocrat, passed this hateful Bill, and they were involved in discord where harmony had previously obtained. South Australians would revere the memory of the Dissenters of to-day.

The Collector of Customs (Hon. Robert R. Torrens) said the measure before the House could not have the effect of giving one Church a predominance, as it proposed to distribute to all in the same proportion. So far as religious instruction went voluntaryism was a fallacy, as was proved in the early days of the colony, when the burden of supporting public worship fell on a few and the working classes contributed nothing. It was also a fallacy to suppose that the law of the land would supply the place of the love of God, even in preserving peace or even in promoting order and prosperity. The strong arm of the law might punish offences, but religion would reclaim the offender and prevent crime. He concluded an eloquent speech with the words (addressed to the Opposition): "Woe unto you, lawmakers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered." The last sentence of the quotation was prophetic, as the division-list soon showed.

After Mr. Gwynne (the mover of the Bill for State-aid) had replied the amendment (throwing out the Bill) was put and carried by a majority of three.

For the Bill.	Against the Bill.
Colonial Secretary (Hon. Captain Sturt)	Advocate-General (Hon. R. D. Hanson)
Registrar-General (Hon. B. T. Finniss)	Captain Bagot
Collector of Customs (Hon. R. R. Torrens)	John Hart
Major Campbell	Francis S. Dutton
George Hall	John B. Neales
William Younghusband	George Fife Angas
John Grainger	William Giles
John Ellis	Robert Davenport
John Baker	Alexander L. Elder
Edward C. Gwynne	George S. Kingston
	Charles Simeon Hare
	George M. Waterhouse
	William Peacock

So ended a five years' battle. State-aid to religion received such a blow that it has been prostrate ever since. It is dead in South Australia, beyond the probability of a resurrection.

The early settlers had trials from natural as well as from social and political sources. Fortunately they were not of long continuance. In the early days the heat at times was intense, and the dust, caught up and carried long distances by the hot wind, that continued for several days was almost

insufferable. One year the heat was so great that birds fell from the trees and some sought refuge and shelter in houses. On February 6th, 1851, there was a duststorm in Adelaide unparalleled in the history of the Province. It has ever since been known as "Black Thursday." Several shops were closed up. The Court-house was so full of dust that the Court had to adjourn till the next day. The disturbance was especially severe in Victoria, where the sun's heat was intensified by awful bush fires. Men, women, children, cattle, sheep, and native animals were overtaken by the fiery element. It rushed along the dry herbage, flew up the trees, and carried everything before it.

SOME USEFUL LEGISLATION.



South Australian Natives Spearing Fish.

CHAPTER XVI.

SOME USEFUL LEGISLATION.

The Legislative Council on its broader and more representative basis did good work.

It is the rational nature that makes such a wide divergence between man and the brute and in the building up of national life this cannot be neglected. An ignorant nation —no matter how virile in a material sense—cannot be a great nation. The whole man must be developed. A nation that neglects to develop the intellectual faculties of the young must fall back in the onward march of civilization. It is the intellect that makes the man. The intellectual faculties to a certain extent are dormant and must be drawn out. The South Australian pioneers recognized the fact. In a social sense our fathers came to a land that was empty. When they set foot upon these southern shores there were no schools nor colleges, no institutes nor libraries, no well-developed social organization. This they had to call into existence. But man's most pressing needs are material. The instincts of hunger and thirst must be satisfied and a shelter be provided for the body. Our fathers came to a land that was destitute of the material as well as the mental necessities of civilization. There were no fields of growing corn nor fruitful gardens: no flocks and herds: no roads nor dwelling-places—these they had to call into existence. Houses had to be built, land cleared, fields tilled and sown, gardens planted, roads constructed. They might have been so absorbed in the material as to forget or neglect the mental and moral. But not so. So far as their means would allow provision was made for the education of the young. Among the pioneers was a man named Captain Bromley. For many years before coming to the new land he had taken an interest in religious and educational work. In common with the early emigrants he landed at Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, and here he gathered round him the children of the settlers and taught them the first principles of education.

The short but touching story of the first school in South Australia is best told in Captain Bromley's own words:—"I collected all the children I possibly could; but the whole number amounted to only twenty-four, and nearly half of

them were infants. They were therefore taught on the infant-school system, and all except one (a mere babe) could either spell or read before I came away from the island. While thus employed I could hardly obtain money enough to purchase bread and cheese, the weekly pay of the children not amounting to 10s., so that instead of building a hut I was obliged to purchase common necessaries to live on. I had therefore no alternative but to teach the children under the shade of a large tree, which would have accommodated forty or fifty more." He did, however, afterwards contrive with his own hands to build a small hut, so that when a change of weather drove the children from the tree he was able to shelter them from the rain. Captain Bromley also had the honour of planting the first British school in British North America in the year 1813. He remained on Kangaroo Island from December 5th, 1836, to May 19th, 1837, and then removed to Adelaide, having accepted the office of Protector of the Aborigines. Shortly after he was drowned in the River Torrens.

The first schoolmaster appointed to the colony was John Banks Shepherdson. George Fife Angas had been instrumental in founding in England a "South Australian School Society."[33] John B. Shepherdson was sent out as a teacher. He arrived a few months after the colony was founded, and opened his school in a wooden erection on the parklands opposite Trinity Church.

Speaking of his arrival and early experiences Mr. Shepherdson said: "Adelaide had just been laid out, and the few people living there were located in tents, reed huts, wooden erections and pisé houses. Serious quarrels had taken place as a result of divided authority. Robert Gouger (the Colonial Secretary) was just returning Home for the purpose of appealing to the Home Government for a settlement of unhappy differences. His tent was secured at a rental of £1 per week."

The pioneer schoolmaster did not long continue his scholastic duties. In Governor Robe's time he was chosen as Clerk of the Mount Barker Bench of Magistrates. In 1861 he was appointed Stipendiary Magistrate for Yorke's Peninsula, a position which he occupied for twenty-six years. In 1887 he sent in his resignation, receiving a letter from the Attorney-General thanking him for "his forty years of faithful service." He died May 24th, 1897, aged eighty-eight years.

[33] The South Australian School Society building is still in existence on North Terrace, one wing of which is occupied by the South Australian Company.

Some of the pioneer preachers took up educational work. The Rev. Thomas Q. Stow (Congregationalist) taught a school in a cottage at the corner of Freeman and Pirie Streets, where the State Bank now stands. The Rev. Ralph Drummond, the first Presbyterian minister in the New Settlement, also conducted a school in Angas Street in addition to his clerical work.

A classical school, too, was held in Gawler Place under the guidance of Mr. MacGowan. Apparently he had been a teacher in the Old Country before emigrating to South Australia. The London *Literary Gazette* spoke of "Mr. MacGowan's successful method of instruction," which "taught children to think" instead of "condemning them to learn things by rote." Mrs. MacGowan conducted a ladies' school.

As the colony became more settled the Government took up the question of education. The first legislative body to really deal with it was the old Nominee Council under Governor Robe. A Bill was then passed giving a grant to those who were engaged in teaching at the rate of £26 per annum for twenty scholars, and £40 for fifty scholars and upwards.

But it was the Legislative Council on the more popular basis that fully and adequately (for the time being) dealt with the matter of education. Soon after it met in 1851 a Bill was introduced in which it was proposed to teach not only the preliminary arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but to give instruction in the higher branches of education—the rudiments of geometry, mathematics, and the sciences. It proposed the establishment of a Central Board of Education and the formation of a normal school or training institution for teachers. Undenominational religious instruction was to be given. The Bill was "to provide a good secular education based on the Christian religion, but apart from all theological and controversial differences on discipline and doctrine." The minimum salary of every licensed teacher was to be £40, the maximum £100. In addition, the teachers were allowed to retain the school fees.

With the passing of the new Education Act Dr. Wyatt was appointed Inspector. In the history of our Province he deserves honourable mention. Dr. Wyatt may be represented as the father of our educational system. In 1851 he wrote to the Government making various suggestions in regard to education. Among others were these: the establishment of a normal college for the education and training of teachers; the erection of schoolhouses, especially in country districts; a fixed stipend for teachers; the separation of teachers into classes, according to their qualifications; the formation of a

Government Depot for supplying school books: the formation of local committees (school boards), with authority to exercise a limited surveillance over the schools, and to co-operate generally in carrying out the provisions of the Legislature. Dr. Wyatt was in favour of Bible-reading in the schools.

He came to the Province by the *John Renwick* early in 1837, and was one of the purchasers at the first land sale in the embryo city. In 1837 he was appointed by Governor Hindmarsh as Protector of the Aborigines *(pro tem.)* and City Coroner. For many years he was Chairman of the Adelaide Hospital. Dr. Wyatt did good service to the pioneers and to their posterity by making meteorological observations and keeping a methodical record of them. Up to the end of his useful life Dr. Wyatt was connected with various social institutions to which he rendered special service. He died in 1866 in his eighty-second year.

Another piece of useful legislation passed by the new Council was the District Councils Act, giving to the people, in relation to local requirements, local self-government—power to tax themselves and to spend the money in local improvements such as paths, roads, and bridges.

This Council also passed the Bullion Act, which saved the colony from ruin. The difficulty was created through the discovery of gold in the adjoining colonies. Such was the rush to the diggings that South Australia was nearly drained of its male population. It was said that in one of the suburbs of the city only one man was left, and that children, on seeing one of the sterner sex, were accustomed to say: "Look here, mother, there's a man!" The social system was thrown out of gear. The banks had been denuded of their coin by the thousands who rushed to the diggings. There was no medium of exchange. Industry came to a standstill. Shops were closed; some newspapers ceased to exist: the police force was almost reduced to chaos: the working of the copper mines was seriously interrupted. The whole industrial system was out of joint. Wealth was fast going out of the colony and little money coming in. There were goods, but no coin with which to purchase them. In some instances the colonists resorted to a system of barter. Diggers returned with nuggets of gold, but these could not be put into circulation. What way could be suggested out of the difficulty? There was wealth in the form of gold dust and nuggets, but it was the minted and legal coin that the settlers needed. George Tinline, the acting manager of the Bank of South Australia, with other shrewd men, concluded that the only way in which relief could be obtained was by assaying

and coining some of the diggers' gold. They suggested that pieces of gold should be stamped with a fixed value and put into circulation. Governor Young demurred to the proposal. However, there was no time to lose. In the absence of telegraphic communication it was impossible to ask the consent of the Imperial authorities. A special session of the Legislative Council was convened, and the Bullion Act was introduced and passed in a day. Governor Young gave his consent to the Bill, and it became law as a temporary expedient to relieve the colonists from a crushing difficulty. For his services at this critical juncture the colonists presented George Tinline with a testimonial consisting of £2,500.

After the passing of the Bullion Act in 1852 the Government took steps to secure gold for its Mint. The first thing to be done was to open up the nearest overland route to the diggings in Victoria, and the next was to provide an armed escort for the safe custody of the gold to be brought over the route to Adelaide. The task was assigned to Captain Alexander Tolmer (Commissioner of Police), than whom, perhaps, a more suitable person could not have been found. The first escort, under Captain Tolmer, with about a quarter of a ton of gold, arrived in Adelaide on March 19th, 1852. The arrival of the party had been eagerly and anxiously anticipated. Many eyes were watching the road that led from the Mount Lofty ranges to Adelaide. About the middle of the day Captain Tolmer and his armed cavalcade, with their load of gold, appeared in sight. They met with a right royal welcome. Not only did they bring gold from husbands and sons at the diggings, but 400 or 500 letters for anxious wives and mothers.

The Legislative Council that assembled on July 21st, 1853, was the most important political gathering in the history of the Province. Governor Young laid before the members copies of despatches announcing Her Majesty's readiness, upon certain conditions, to grant to the colony the right of self-government. It was to have the entire management of the revenue of the waste lands of the Crown. A Bill was laid before the Council for constituting a Parliament, consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly. The Assembly was to consist entirely of representatives chosen by the people. The elective franchise was to be extended. The basis was freehold value of £20, or occupancy of a dwelling-house value £5 per annum. There were to be thirty-six members, and the duration of membership was to be three years. The Legislative Council was to consist of twelve members nominated by the Crown, who were to hold seats for

life, and thus be independent of the Government and the people. It was entitled "A Bill to Establish a Parliament in South Australia." The proposed constitution of the Upper House did not suit the people. They wished to make it elective instead of nominative, and were opposed to life membership.

To test the case, before the Bill was fully discussed, FRANCIS S. DUTTON brought forward a motion—"That in the proposed Bill for constituting a Parliament for South Australia this Council is of the opinion that the Upper House should be elective." Said he: "The question was brought forward at this time because it was thought to be the primary centre on which the Constitution about to be formed would turn. He did not pretend to any great amount of wisdom, and was young in legislatorial duties, but he had given the subject his best attention, and had arrived at the conclusion that the proper object of an Upper House was a security against hasty legislation. How was it to be effected? It was acknowledged that the Lower House was to be the centre of power—was to hold the purse strings—it was acknowledged that no Executive could exist a day longer than it could command a majority in the Lower House. Then he would ask: How could the Upper House act harmoniously with the Lower Chamber unless the people had a voice in its formation? He was quite satisfied as to the fitness of the people, and was prepared to place the trust in their hands."

A long and able discussion followed. The members of the Council rose to the occasion. The debate was a lofty and statesmanlike one. The members felt that they were making history—that they had arrived at a critical time in the building up of the Commonwealth. This Council will ever have historical value. It had to form a Constitution, and there was a keen contest between the Tories and the Liberals in the nascent State. The former favoured a Legislative Council nominated by the Crown and holding seats for life; this was supposed to approximate to the House of Lords. To show the spirit in which the pioneer politicians did their work we give a few items of the debate.

EDWARD C. GWYNNE rose with considerable diffidence to speak upon the motion. It involved a subject of great magnitude. Looking at the state of the colony, the extent of its population, and the means of the people, he considered that the colony did not require any more elaborate Constitution than it already possessed. He thought the measure was premature. His fear was the fear of the tyranny of a democratic majority. Many who thought with him objected to the mea-

sure on account of its democratic tendencies. He would be willing to support the measure—to take all risks—if a nominated Upper House were conceded. If they refused a nominee Upper House the Constitution would be nothing more nor less than a pure democracy, and they would soon sink into a republic. Although they could not make a House of Lords, they might establish a germ of what in time would give them a similar institution.

George M. Waterhouse approached the subject with a strong conviction of its importance. A second Chamber would be a check upon hasty legislation and a link between the Crown and the people, but a nominated Upper Chamber would create difficulties. It was no answer that its members might be men of independence, for it would not be supposed that the head of the Government would be so foolish as to appoint a majority of persons opposed to his policy, or that men would act in opposition to the hand that raised them to power. There was no real analogy between the House of Lords and the proposed nominated Upper House, nor could they make a comparison between the colony and England. People appeared to labour under the apprehension of some indefinable evil connected with an elective Upper House, but such was not a necessary feature of a republic.

The Colonial Secretary (Hon. Boyle Travers Finniss), in reply to a member, stated that the Bill would be withdrawn if the House carried the motion making the Upper Chamber elective.

The Registrar-General (Hon. Robt. R. Torrens) delivered a long and able speech in favour of nomineeism. He had not heard any rational statement of the benefits likely to be derived from an Upper House elected for a term of years by the same constituency which would return members for the Lower House. It was evident that such an Upper Chamber would be but a reflex of the Lower. Why this jealousy of the Crown displayed here? Why should they desire to see its power rendered absolutely null and void in the colony? Strip the Crown of the privileges of nomination and what would remain? Democracy. He who desired to see democracy established in the colony and its connection with the Mother Country destroyed would vote for an elective Upper House. He who desired to live under the form of constitutional monarchy would vote for an Upper House nominated for life. This question had been his study for years. He had given it the best and fullest consideration of which he was capable. If convicted of error he would at all hazards to himself support the motion. Oppos-

ing members might win his vote if they could show any form of Constitution that would secure a greater amount of true liberty or of happiness than that afforded under the model of the British Constitution. Failing this, hon. members must excuse his declining to adopt the creation of their genius, for they were in no condition to experimentalize. The British Constitution they had tried and proved. He maintained that the proposed Constitution—a nominated Upper House—assimilated closely to that of Great Britain. He would prove from history that the British Constitution afforded more true liberty than that of any other country now existing or that ever had existed. In the ancient republics of Greece and of Rome the great bulk of the people were slaves and helots. In the United States (so frequently and triumphantly appealed to by the advocates of democracy), as in the more ancient republics, slavery was a national institution. What deeds were done under the sacred name of liberty! The example of an elective Upper House was shown in America. What were its fruits? Popular opinion substituted for law; the judges of the land bowing before it; the rights of property invaded. There reigned the despotism of despotisms—"The will of the majority!"

Edward Stephens said he had been asked whether he was on the liberal side of the House. He was—but he was for those best principles on which liberty was founded. He considered the proposed Constitution to be applicable to the state of the colony. A nominated Upper House was an improvement upon the House of Lords inasmuch as the hereditary principle was abolished. The opponents of the Bill went upon the monstrous assumption that the Governor would abuse the power of nomination. He agreed with the opinion that an elective Upper Chamber would be only a reflex of the Lower.

James H. Fisher was of opinion that a change in the Constitution was not yet required. The colony, young as it was, had expanded under its present form of government to an extent which was unparalleled.

George F. Angas said he had been told by eloquent gentlemen that the Bill providing for a nominated Upper House was in accordance with the British Constitution, but he maintained that in the House of Lords the elective principle to a certain extent obtained. Had they forgotten the election of bishops, who held seats in that House, and who were elected by the Houses of Convocation? He defended the American Constitution from the attacks

made upon it by the Registrar-General. Under that Constitution flourished the most perfect system of education and the best modes of religious instruction. If slavery were tolerated in America it was a fact that proved the demoralization of the people, and should not be charged to the Constitution founded by the descendants of the religious fathers. It had been said that those who desired to introduce democracy would vote for an elective Upper House. He would do so. Yet he was the last man who would desire to introduce disorder into the colony or separation from the parent State. He possessed, perhaps, as large a landed property in the colony as any man, and could not be suspected of indifference to the form of Constitution which would so materially influence the progress of the colony and the character of its inhabitants. He had duly weighed all that had been advanced by honourable members on the subject. He had given the matter his best consideration, and would vote for an elective Upper House.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. Boyle Travers Finniss) was of opinion that the nominee principle gave large scope for selecting men most distinguished for talent, for information, for wealth. There would be no such scope under the elective principle. The nominee would follow the dictates of his experience, and his interests being identical with those of the colony, he could have no party purpose to serve. The argument that the Governor might abuse his power amounted to nothing, as it could be applied to the people as well. Wherever there was power it was liable to abuse. There was no precedent in favour of an elective Upper House but that of the Cape, and it was a mere experiment. He trusted that in their zeal to serve South Australia they would adopt the results of experience rather than untried theories.

JOHN BAKER argued in favour of an elective Upper House on the basis that the members should be elected for life. By the elective principle only would their object be attained of creating a bulwark against the encroachments of both the Crown and the people, and by being elected for life their independence would be secured. They could consider every question on its merits, and not how it was regarded in some particular district. But he would rather accept the Government scheme of a nominated Upper House than have no alteration at all. He advocated a compromise between the Government and the Opposition.

GEORGE S. KINGSTON said that the Hon. Mr. Gwynne had expressed himself favourable to a nominated Upper

House on the ground that an aristocratic form of government was preferable to a democracy; but in the colony there was no aristocratic class; they were all South Australians. He regarded a nominated Upper House as a retrograde movement. If it were carried party spirit would be raised, as the colonists would never rest till they had got rid of a nominated Upper House.

The Collector of Customs (Hon. Captain G. F. Dashwood) wished it to be distinctly understood that he would never give his vote to any amended form of the Constitution which was not based upon the model of the British Constitution, or as nearly assimilated to it as circumstances would permit. To the best of his judgment the Bill before the House was the best that could be devised to secure that object. He objected to an elective Upper House in every shape and form. No member of that House could be independent if he were the representative of others. It had been said that nominees would be mere tools of the Governor. It was not to be supposed that when members were nominated for life they would be controlled and influenced by any Governor during his brief tenure of office.

John T. Bagot was fully convinced that an elective Upper House was by far the best form of Constitution to meet the requirements of the colony, and though those honourable members who opposed the motion seemed to suppose that all the argument was on their side, he (with the other members who thought with him) was quite willing to leave the decision of the question to the intelligent people of the Province. A nominated Upper House was an attempt to control and check the popular power. It proposed to place in the hands of a few the entire control of the Government. If there were any particular measure which the colonists might at any time wish to be adopted the elective members, by uniting together, could carry it, but by a nominated Upper House their objects could at any time be defeated.

Robert Davenport (brother to Sir Samuel) said that after long and patient consideration of the subject he had come to the conclusion that the formation of an Upper House on the nominee principle was most in accordance with the British Constitution, and he thought the analogy of the British Constitution was the best they could adopt in framing a Constitution for the colony. He affirmed that the House of Lords had displayed more talent, tact, and knowledge in expounding the law, and was more adapted to interpret rightly the wishes of the people than the House of Commons. Why? Because they were an aristocracy of mind. He

feared that they would get on badly in the colony unless they had an aristocracy of that kind. What a splendid spectacle did England exhibit a short time ago when Chartism was apparently in the ascendancy; when the most daring threats were made, public meetings held, and gigantic processions organized to overawe the Government. What a magnificent proof was then given of the value of the strength of a constitutional Executive. The Government looked on with silent dignity. It threw itself back upon its own majesty, prepared to resist the first outbreak and to assert the supremacy of law. Contrast this with the conduct of the Executive in America in the case of the invasion of Cuba, in direct violation of the law of nations as well as of their own. Men belonging to the professions, students in universities, and persons holding the position of gentlemen openly violated the law and bearded its authorities, who were obliged to submit to the indignity and look on in helpless silence. One reason why he favoured a nominee Upper House was because he thought the Governor had better opportunities of judging the capacities of men to form an Upper House than the public had, because the colony was of too recent a date to have allowed time for men to prove their abilities by a course of public action. The intellect, talent, and knowledge of the House of Lords was the keystone to the British Constitution, and which they should endeavour to adopt as far as possible.

William Peacock said that so great—so determined—was his aversion to the nominee principle of the proposed Upper Chamber that he would rather lay his head on the block than entail on his children such a farcical imitation of the House of Lords. Let them ask the opinion of the people out of doors, and nineteen out of twenty would be found strenuously opposed to a nominee Upper House.

William Giles was for an Upper House elected for a term of years. He had given the question full consideration, and nothing that any man could say would alter his convictions on the subject.

William Younghusband thought that a second elective Chamber would be the best.

The Advocate-General (Hon. Richard Davies Hanson) said one objection that had been raised to a nominee Upper House was that it would place its members above law. This could not be. Look at the House of Lords. They were in a much higher position than the twelve nominees proposed by the Parliament Bill could be, yet they could not set themselves permanently against the people. Was not

Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Bill, the Repeal of the Corn Laws carried against the richest and most potent aristocracy in the world? He wished to see independent men in the Upper House, men who would not feel the necessity of looking with one eye to the merits of a question and with the other to the desires of their constituents. He did not think the opinions of the people to be always correct. He did not hold the maxim *vox populi, vox Dei*, though he believed that the second voice of the people was always right. He was prepared to yield to the people when he knew that they had time for dispassionate reflection, and when a matter was placed before them in all its bearings. He was for the people having power to make laws, but he wished to see the people submit to the laws. He defied honourable members to show him a country where there were two elective Chambers, and where the will of the people was not above law.

Mr. Dutton's motion for an elective Chamber was lost, a majority of eight voting against it.

The second reading of the Parliament Bill was then passed. A clumsy compromise between the Government and the Opposition was then effected, and the Parliament Bill, providing for a nominated Upper House, was read a third time and transmitted to the Imperial authorities for their consideration. Farther on we shall see that it was not accepted by the British Government.

In the next chapter it will be seen that a satisfactory *via media* was arranged by providing for a Lower House elected on the basis of manhood suffrage, and an Upper House the members of which were to be elected on the basis of a property qualification.

The time now came for His Excellency (Governor Young) to leave the colony. He had occupied the vice-regal position for nearly seven years, and had faithfully served both Sovereign and subjects. The colony had outgrown its childhood and youth and was now approaching its majority. For such a period Governor Young was an ideal ruler. During the tenure of his office legislation became more and more in harmony with the will of the people. He did not remain to see, in the full sense of the word, responsible government established, but he remained long enough to witness a Bill providing for an elective Assembly pass the Legislative Council and then transmitted to the British Government for approval.

It was during Sir Henry's term that the Murray trade was developed. In this question he took a very keen interest.

It was Captain Randall who put the first steamer on the Murray for commercial enterprise. She was named the *Mary Ann*, and was built by Captain Randall at a cost of £1,500. Great interest was taken in this event. The Governor and Lady Young, with a party of leading colonists, went to Goolwa to greet the steamer and her captain. Some 200 persons assembled. A volley from 19 guns was fired and hearty cheers were given. Speaking of this historic event the editor of *The Register* said: "In future times, when the steam navigation of the River Murray shall have attained the paramount importance for which it is destined, when numerous and powerful steamers shall be regularly employed in transporting the pastoral produce of Australia, the diminutive size and power of Mr. Randall's boat will be of little consequence, but the interest and honour attaching to the first voyage of a steamer on the waters of the Murray will redound to his credit and subserve the best interests of his adopted country."

Captain Randall (the pioneer of the Murray trade) continued with us a long time. He died on March 4th, 1911, aged eighty-six years.

The Legislative Council in 1850 voted a sum of £4,000 as a bonus for a successful navigation of the Murray from the Goolwa to the Darling. The steamers were to be of not less than 40 h.p., and were not to exceed in draught 2 ft. of water when loaded. Captain Francis Cadell was the successful competitor. He first embarked in a canvas boat—a bold undertaking—on the upper Murray, and descended the stream for a distance of 1,300 miles, demonstrating that the river could be navigated by steamers of shallow draught. He forced a steamer (the *Lady Augusta*, so called after Lady Young) through the Murray mouth, a most risky feat, steamed to the Goolwa, and made fast. Here the population of the surrounding district and a great number of blacks had gathered. The Governor was also present with a party from Adelaide, including Mr. and Mrs. Younghusband and their three daughters. Volleys of musketry were fired, and the blacks were provided with a feast in the form of two sheep, which they roasted whole.

A cargo boat (the *Eureka*) had been built for Captain Cadell at Goolwa. This marked another course in the Commonwealth which the pioneers were building up. They determined to do honour to the occasion. With a garland of wild flowers upon her head Miss Eliza Younghusband, a maiden of thirteen, christened the *Eureka*. After the local

festivities were over the *Lady Augusta*, with a distinguished party on board, including the Governor, steamed up the river with the cargo boat in tow. This was on August 26th, 1853. The party reached Swan Hill on September 17th—three weeks later.

On the way back the boats took in 444 bales of wool, about 1,000 sheepskins, and a quantity of tallow. Such was the inauguration of the Murray trade which the pioneers celebrated with eager, great, and glowing anticipations.

A public banquet was tendered to Captain Cadell. This was on Wednesday evening, October 26th, 1853. The banquet was spread in the Council Chamber, North Terrace. This was another historic occasion. The chair was occupied by John Morphett (Speaker of the Legislative Council). Able and congratulatory addresses were given by such noted nation-builders as Richard D. Hanson, John Stephens, George Marsden Waterhouse, William Younghusband, John Baker, William Giles, and George Fife Angas.

The Governor (Sir Henry Young) proposed the toast of Cadell, and in doing so delivered an eloquent speech. Said he: "The great river constitutes a permanent bond of union between three large and prosperous colonies, and as surely as its waters terminate in the ocean at Encounter Bay, so surely has a gracious and omnipotent Providence destined the river to give an especial impulse to the commerce and social improvement of South Australia. The steam navigation of the Murray—this Australian Mississippi—when fully developed will form an important epoch, and will hasten the culmination of the population and trade of South Australia. And, gentlemen, it cannot be out of season, even at this festive board, to indulge the belief, to breathe the aspiration, that as waste after waste of the wilderness shall become the populous scene of many useful productions—as the grim visage and uncouth accents of the savage are gradually changed into the smiling aspect and the busy hum of the voices of industrious and civilized man—so likewise a way will be opened for the message of Him who hath made of one blood all nations of men."

Captain Cadell (the hero of the hour) was greeted with a storm of applause. He affirmed that in his attempt to open up the Murray trade he had not been inspired by mercenary motives. His ambition was "the waking up of a mighty but hitherto torpid stream," so that it "might fulfil its allotted duties, as intended by the Creator of all things, and to render it subservient to the uses of mankind."

It is said that in after-years Captain Cadell went in for pearl-fishing on the north-west coast of Australia, and while asleep was murdered by one of the crew in 1879.

Governor Young was the father of South Australian railways. It was during his time that the railway to the Port was constructed, and consent was given for the formation of the Adelaide and Gawler line. During his administration steam postal communication was established between South Australia and England, and the electric telegraph within the colony came into use.

The chilling reception that Governor Young received on his arrival was more than atoned for by the practical expression of esteem that marked his departure. An address was presented to him, as well as a handsome silver claret jug and salver. Lady Young received a silver tea service valued at a hundred guineas. The party left Government House on December 20th, 1854. A salute of 13 guns was fired. There was a detachment of mounted police in front of the carriage, and in the rear a guard of honour composed of the Adelaide Mounted Volunteer Rifle Corps. A large number of gentlemen on horseback and various vehicles brought up the rear. Governor Young was appointed administrator of the Government in Tasmania. After leaving Tasmania he visited New Zealand and returned to the Old Land, where he spent most of his time in London. He died September 18th, 1870.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.



Governor Sir Richard MacDonnell.

CHAPTER XVII.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

It was not till June 7th, 1855, that Governor Sir Richard and Lady MacDonnell arrived. During the interim the Hon. B. T. Finniss acted as administrator.

The liberal rule of Sir Henry E. Young had evidently won the hearts of the people. It stimulated their loyalty. The vice-regal appointment was no longer regarded with impatience or indifference. The result was that Sir Richard MacDonnell and his lady met with a most effusive welcome. The ships in the harbour were decorated, and flags from various positions waved in the breeze. An address was presented to him at Port Adelaide. A salute of 17 guns was fired. A cavalcade followed him from the Port to the city. Volunteers were arranged in file two deep along North Terrace. A company of the Fortieth Regiment was drawn up in the same locality. The soldiers presented arms and the multitude cheered.

Sir Richard was the son of Dr. MacDonnell, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He was born in 1815, and was educated at Trinity College, where he took a high position. For some time he practised as a lawyer in London. He was appointed Chief Justice of the British possessions at Gambia, and in course of time became Governor of the Gambia settlements. Here he narrowly escaped with his life. In one of his expeditions, visiting a native town, he fell into an ambush. His clothes were pierced in many places with spear and sword cuts. It was the want of union among his assailants and the gallantry of some native allies that saved him. Afterwards he was appointed to a Governorship in the West Indies, and then to South Australia. He spent nearly seven years as Governor of this colony. During his administration self-government became an actual fact, the Real Property Act was passed, and the colony reached its majority. He identified himself with every movement for the good of the colony, whether literary, artistic, educational, or philanthropic.

Of Governor MacDonnell a visitor to Adelaide during his administration said: "The Governor and his lady are very popular, and deservedly so. They mix freely in society and take a lead in all the amusements of the place.

Sir Richard is spoken of as rather too clever a man for his position, and as being rather inclined to chafe under the restraints inherent to the condition of the strictly constitutional Governor. He is a fine, powerful, masculine fellow, full of life, vigour, and animal spirits; hospitable, devoted to outdoor sports, and a perfect Ulysses with the bow."

In Governor Young's time we saw the third reading of the Parliament Bill passed, and the Bill transmitted to the British Government for approval. Sir Richard MacDonnell received a despatch from Lord John Russell advising a reconsideration of the Bill. Before attempting further legislation Lord John Russell suggested the expediency of a new election, and pointed out two courses of procedure that the new Legislative Council could take—either to amend the Parliament Bill or to bring in a new one. The people were to have a free hand in the matter.

A few days after the receipt of this despatch the dissolution of the old Legislative Council was gazetted. Writs were again issued and candidates announced themselves. Opponents of State-aid, fearful of its resurrection, again bestirred themselves. Another epoch had come in the history of the people, and a great responsibility rested upon the electors. In the previous chapter the pioneers had to consider a Constitution that had been submitted to them by the Imperial authorities. Now they were at liberty to formulate their own. Said the editor of *The Register*: "We are now called upon to reconstitute our Legislature under different auspices and for greater purposes than before. It is no light responsibility that has devolved upon us. We are not called to elect men to make an ordinary law, but to make a Constitution. We are laying the foundations of a new political and social State."

Governor MacDonnell, whose legal training was of service to the colonists, suggested the lines on which he thought a new Constitution should be based, providing for a single Chamber of forty members, with four official nominees. The suggestion did not meet with the approval of the people. They had made up their minds to sweep away the last vestige of nomineeism, and great interest was taken in the elections.

South Australians to-day would like to see how their fathers fifty-five years ago went about their electioneering business. Voting by ballot had not yet come into vogue. Party feeling often ran very high, especially in connection with nomineeism and State-aid to religion. Personalities

were sometimes indulged in ; rival colours were worn and rival flags carried, and the advertising column of the newspaper was made the medium for caustic and cutting criticism.

Major O'Halloran and Thomas Reynolds were contesting the same district. An advertisement appeared in the public Press to the following effect:—"To the Electors of West Torrens—A fine specimen of the chamelion (a species of lizard which changes its colour to suit itself to circumstances) may be seen at Lizard Lodge, O'Halloran Hill, daily, gratis." Another advertisement also appeared, equally uncomplimentary, in reference to Thomas Reynolds—"Teapot Tommy" as he was sarcastically called, because of his advocacy of total abstinence principles.

In these primitive elections there was life, vigour, and boundless enthusiasm ; sometimes there was riot and rowdyism.

The nominations usually took place at some public-house in the district. The rival candidates would sometimes repair to the place of nomination in state, riding in a carriage followed by a long retinue of enthusiastic supporters carrying flags and wearing the colours.

When the time to commence business arrived the Returning Officer read the writ and called for nominations. Candidates were then proposed and seconded by their supporters. Each supporter, as a rule, made a speech in the interests of his favourite, giving reasons why he should be elected. The candidates themselves then took the floor and delivered addresses. The addresses over, the Returning Officer called for a show of hands, and then declared the name of the candidate who had the preference. The other side would then demand a poll, which would take place a few days afterwards.

Rival colours were sometimes attacked and rival flags torn down. In West Adelaide, where the Hibernian element prevailed, James Hurtle Fisher and Anthony Forster were struggling for the same seat. Early on the morning of the election there was trouble. There was a fight in the polling-booth almost as soon as it was opened. Sixty policemen were ordered to the scene by the Governor. These were drawn up in double column and stationed during the day in Gilbert Place, near to the polling-booth. The military, concealed from public view, stood near by in case of emergency. At the close of the election, when Mr. Forster was chosen, an attack was made upon his supporters. Shillelaghs were freely used, chairs were broken, persons were injured. The police, both horse and foot, charged the mob, and ultimately the street was cleared and some arrests were made.

The successful candidate for West Torrens (Thomas Reynolds) rode to the declaration of the poll in a carriage drawn by four horses and followed by a large procession made up of vehicles and horsemen. The defeated candidate (Major O'Halloran) also had a carriage and four. At East Adelaide banners and decorations were in great profusion.

The new Legislative Council consisted of the following: —

NOMINATED BY THE GOVERNOR.

Official Nominees—

Hon. Boyle T. Finniss (Colonial Secretary).
Hon. Richard D. Hanson (Advocate-General).
Hon. Captain Arthur H. Freeling (Surveyor-General).
Hon. Robert R. Torrens (Colonial Treasurer).

Non-Official Nominees—

James H. Fisher	Marshall McDermott
Samuel Davenport	Edward Stirling

ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE.

North Adelaide	John Bentham Neales
East Adelaide	Francis Stacker Dutton
West Adelaide	Anthony Forster
Port Adelaide	William Scott
Yatala	Arthur Blyth
East Torrens	John B. Hughes
West Torrens	Thomas Reynolds
Noarlunga	William Peacock
Mount Barker	John Baker
Hindmarsh	John Rankine
Barossa	George Fife Angas
Victoria	John Hart
Light	John T. Bagot
Stanley	William Younghusband
Burra	George S. Kingston
Flinders.	Alfred Watts

Among the defeated candidates were such well-known settlers as Sir James H. Fisher, Major O'Halloran, Walter Duffield, Alexander Hay, Edward C. Gwynne, Marshall McDermott, and Edward Stirling.

The Governor chose three of the defeated candidates as non-official nominees.

Upon this new Legislative Council devolved the responsibility of making a new Constitution. A critical time had come in the building up of the Commonwealth. It was necessary that the work should be wisely and thoroughly done.

They had to lay a course in the building up of national life upon which great issues would depend.

They met for the first time on Thursday, November 1st, 1855, in the new Chamber on North Terrace. The public gallery was crowded with citizens and representative public men. James H. Fisher was elected Speaker.

Governor MacDonnell's address was a very long one. He stated that Her Majesty's representative was no longer styled Lieutenant-Governor, but Governor-in-Chief of South Australia. This he took to be an indication of the growing importance of the colony. As the colony was still young the Governor expressed a preference for a single Chamber, but as the majority of the people desired two Houses he thought that their wish should prevail. He then laid before the Council, as a kind of working model, a Bill providing for two Houses. Both Houses were to be elective. The Legislative Council was to consist of eighteen members, one of whom was to be President. At the end of every four years five members were to vacate their seats and five new members were to be elected. The House of Assembly was to consist of thirty members. The franchise for both Houses, according to the Governor's proposal, was to be alike. His suggestion was a cumbrous one. Every man of the age of twenty-one, having freehold estate of the clear value of £20, or occupying a dwelling-house of the clear annual value of £5, or having a leasehold of the value of £10 per annum, or having a salary of £100, or being a graduate of any British University, or practitioner of the Supreme Court, or minister of religion, was to have a vote for both Houses. Such was the Governor's somewhat inflated proposal.

As soon as the Bill was presented it was condemned. On the motion for its second reading the Government, to avoid an inevitable defeat, declared that if its second reading were carried it would be with the distinct knowledge that the Council would not be pledged to any of its clauses. With this understanding the Council went into Committee on the Bill. The outcome of the deliberations was: Two Houses; both elective. The Upper House to consist of eighteen members elected by the whole colony; the Lower House of thirty-six members elected by districts. In the Upper House six members were to retire every four years. The Lower House was to be elected every three years on the basis of manhood suffrage. The qualifications for a vote for the Upper House were: Freehold of £50 clear value; lease of £20 per annum, with three years to run; a right of purchase; and £25 tenants

All voting was to be by ballot. This Parliament Bill was passed on January 2nd, 1856. While it was under discussion the colonists took a great interest in it. Many letters were written to the Press, and public meetings in the interests of the Bill were held.

In proroguing the Council Governor MacDonnell said:—"The session about to close will long be remembered as that in which the principles were established and the broad foundation laid of the Constitution under which South Australia will, I trust, long continue to extend the prosperity which, under Divine Providence, has hitherto blessed the energy and honourable industry of her children. I confidently expect that the extended political power entrusted to the people of this country, and the universal suffrage conceded by the new Constitution, will prove a safe and conservative measure, and, whilst conferring the utmost possible powers of self-government, will render stronger and more enduring than ever the cherished ties of affection and loyalty which link this Province to the throne of our respected and beloved Sovereign." He spoke of the session as the longest and most remarkable of the South Australian Legislature.[34]

Intelligence came by the *White Swan* on October 24th, 1856, that the new Parliament Bill had received Royal assent. Governor MacDonnell nominated the first Ministry under responsible government:—Chief Secretary, Hon. B. T. Finniss; Attorney-General, Hon. Richard D. Hanson; Treasurer, Hon. Robert R. Torrens; Commissioner of Public Works, Hon. Captain Arthur H. Freeling; Commissioner of Crown Lands, Hon. Charles Bonney.

The elections under the new regime were very orderly. The battle over State-aid had been fought; a Constitution in harmony with the wishes of the people had been granted. All the community now had to do was to quietly and wisely vote for the new representatives.

The Parliament under the new Constitution met on April 22nd, 1857. About a thousand spectators assembled on North Terrace. A guard of honour was drawn up in front of the Council Chambers and a detachment of police stationed on the Terrace. A Royal salute was fired. The multitude cheered. They brought forth the top stone shouting grace! grace! unto it.

[34] One of the most important Acts passed in 1856 was "An Act to provide for the water supply and drainage of the City of Adelaide."

As this event will ever be memorable in history we give the names of the members who were elected to the First Parliament:—

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.—

Hon. Thomas S. O'Halloran	Hon. Henry Ayers
John Baker	Arthur H. Freeling
William Younghusband	George Fife Angas
John Morphett	Edward Stirling
Edward C. Gwynne	James H. Fisher
Anthony Forster	Captain C. Bagot
Abraham Scott	Samuel Davenport
William Scott	Charles Davies
George Hall	Charles G. Everard

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—

City of Adelaide—Hon. Boyle T. Finniss, Hon. Robert R. Torrens, Hon. Richard D. Hanson, Francis S. Dutton, John B. Neales, William H. Burford.
Port Adelaide—John Hart and John B. Hughes.
West Torrens—Luther Scammell [35] and James W. Cole.
Yatala—John Harvey and Charles Simeon Hare.
Gumeracha—Arthur Blyth and Alexander Hay.
East Torrens—George M. Waterhouse and Hon. Charles Bonney.
Sturt—Thomas Reynolds and John Hallett.
Noarlunga—Thomas Young and Henry Mildred.
Mount Barker—Friederich E. H. Krichauff and John Dunn.
Onkaparinga—William Milne and William B. Davies.
Encounter Bay—Benjamin H. Babbage and Arthur F. Lindsay.
Barossa—Walter Duffield and Horace Dean.
The Murray—David Wark.
Light—John T. Bagot and Carrington Smedley.
Victoria—Robert R. Leake.
Burra and Clare—George S. Kingston, Morris Marks, and Edward J. Peake.
Flinders—Marshall McDermott.

Summing up after the elections the editor of *The Register* said: "Responsible government inaugurated this day will henceforth direct, for weal or for woe, the destinies of this Province. We have no fear as to the result."

[35] Mr. Luther Scammell outlived all the members of the First Parliament, and died at Unley on March 11th, 1910.

Said the London *Times* in commenting upon the circumstance: "It must be confessed that it is rather an odd position for a new community of rising tradesmen, farmers, cattle-breeders, builders, mechanics, with a sprinkling of doctors and attorneys, to find that it is suddenly called upon to find Prime Ministers, Cabinets, a Ministerial side and an Opposition side, and all the apparatus of a Parliamentary Government—to awake one fine morning and discover that it is no longer a colony but a nation, saddled with all the rules and traditions of the political life of the Mother Country."

The statistics for the year in which responsible government was granted were as follow:—

Population	109,917
Acres under cultivation	235,965
Horses	26,220
Cattle	310,400
Sheep	2,075,805
Exports	£1,958,572
Revenue	£455,211
Breadstuffs	£755,840
Minerals	£458,839
Wool	£504,520

A visitor to Adelaide in 1857 published his "Reminiscences." From these we may learn what Adelaide and its suburbs looked like in the year in which responsible government was granted and the colony reached its majority. The old print says: "Adelaide has many advantages of situation, and has in some respects been well laid out. Yet during several months of the year it is virtually uninhabitable. The dust is incessant and overwhelming. But for this peculiarity it would be an agreeable town enough. In one thing the people of Adelaide are setting a good example. They are taking active steps in planting the city. Private persons are allowed, with proper restrictions, to plant along the kerb in front of their premises, and all along the terraces which surround the town, and in all the squares which occur at regular intervals, ornamental trees have been planted by the Corporation. Adelaide is situated on a very extensive plain. The Torrens runs through it and supplies it with water. The river during the summer months is very insignificant; however, it continues to run all the year, and the water is of good quality. Waterworks upon a rather large scale are in progress, the river being dammed up about 10 miles from the town, and the water will be brought in by gravitation. Upon one side Adelaide is sheltered by a range of hills, of which,

considering their extreme beauty, I am surprised that I have heard so little. The Tiers slope down into the plains, the entire way from the coast to the Burra—a hundred miles up-country, presenting everywhere a very beautiful appearance; gently undulating, sometimes well covered with timber, sometimes open down, broken up into all sorts of pretty forms; the eye never tires of resting on these delightful ranges. As the sun rises, culminates, and declines new beauties of light and shadow reveal themselves, and every passing cloud adds its quota to the general effect. The gardens in the neighbourhood of Adelaide exceed any I have seen in the colonies. They are very extensive, highly cultivated, and most productive. In season fruit abounds to such an extent that much of the more perishable kinds is lost altogether. The kinds range from the gooseberry to the loquat and the orange. Extensive olive gardens present themselves here and there, but to my great surprise no use whatever is made of the produce. The vine is being extensively cultivated. Wine-making is progressing in numerous directions. The railway and the electric telegraph are progressing at a moderate rate. The railway has already connected Adelaide with the Port, a distance of 8 miles, and also stretched away to Gawler town, 25 miles into the interior. These lines are in the hands of the Government, and are badly worked. Little attention is paid to either punctuality or regularity of working in any respect. Your ticket is asked for either two or three times or not at all, and to my intense amusement I saw a lady, unprovided with tickets for herself and friend, count out the fare to the guard and send him away for the necessary change. The leading politicians, as in all the colonies, have expended a great deal of their strength in selfish struggles for power."

Such were the impressions made by our Province upon an observing mind half a century ago. Our railway system then had only just been born, and no doubt was in a crude condition.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN CONNECTION WITH RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.



The Hon. Boyle Travers Finniss.
The First Premier under Responsible Government.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN CONNECTION WITH RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

It was during the year responsible government was granted that South Australia reached her majority.

Before we look at some of the difficulties the early politicians had to face and the strife and division that marred the first and second Parliaments a fairer scene must come under view.

On December 28th, 1857, the pioneers celebrated the twenty-first anniversary of the colony. They determined to do honour to the occasion. Early in the morning thousands were astir. A mysterious force seemed to be drawing all the colonists in one direction. From every point of the compass faces were turned toward Holdfast Bay. It was here that many of the pioneer fathers and mothers had landed twenty-one years before. It was here that they had lived in tents and in rush huts till the site for the city had been fixed. For three hours in the morning a dense mass of humanity moved in obedience to one law.

In front of "Government Cottage," facing the place where Governor Hindmarsh and party had landed, a large tent had been erected. Here Governor MacDonnell and his lady, with the leading public men of the community and their wives, were expected to dine. Round this large pavilion were many smaller ones for the accommodation of visitors. The scene was a gay one. Thousands of colonists were present, attired for the occasion. Flags were flying and strains of music floating on the breeze. On every hand hearty laughter and merry conversation was heard.

There were to be athletic sports, sailing matches, rifle shooting, and many other attractions. At the banquet in the large pavilion Sir James Hurtle Fisher, first Resident Commissioner of South Australia and President of the Legislative Council, was to preside. At the "old gum-tree" a special ceremony was to take place. A brass plate was to be affixed bearing the following inscription: —

"On this spot on the 28th of December, 1836, the colony of South Australia was proclaimed and established as a Province by Captain John Hindmarsh, R.N., the Governor

thereof, acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty King William Fourth, in the presence of the chief officers of the Government and other colonists. On the 28th December, 1857, the record of the above fact was here publicly affixed by Sir R. G. MacDonnell, Knight, C.B., Governor-in-Chief of the Province, in the presence of the assembled colonists, to commemorate the event of the colony attaining its twenty-first year, and to testify their feeling by a day of public rejoicing.

"God Save the Queen!"

The day opened most auspiciously. The most admirable arrangements had been made. Alas! how soon the brightest scene is clouded. How uncertain are all mundane events. The clouds gathered. About noon the rain began to fall. Hour after hour it continued. The hotels were crowded. The booths were "fine-weather erections"; they offered no adequate protection. Thousands were drenched to the skin. The large pavilion crowded with guests was not waterproof. The rain came through. The guests were soaked, and the provisions too. *The Register* of the period said: "Every delicacy of the season was upon the tables; but, unfortunately, the pelting of the pitiless storm had the effect of dashing the cup of pleasure from the lips of the numerous guests."

In spite of the rain a large number of colonists went to the old gum-tree. Here at about noon the brass plate was to be affixed. But being detained by the rain, Governor MacDonnell failed at the time appointed to put in an appearance.

The Hon. James Hurtle Fisher presided at the banquet. Among the guests were Governor MacDonnell and his lady. After the Queen, the Prince Consort, and the Royal Family had been duly honoured, the Chairman rose to propose a toast "upon which he could, but perhaps ought not to, say a great deal. It was a subject——" Here there was a loud report (it was the first boom of a Royal salute). The Chairman was equal to the occasion. Said he: "It was a subject evidently worthy of a good report. It was a ——" There was another loud boom. James Hurtle Fisher could no doubt contend with the antagonistic voices of political opponents, but he was no match for artillery. Amid great merriment he sat down and waited patiently for the last peal. The salute of 17 guns over, he rose again. "He thought he was to have fired the great gun on that occasion, but it appeared that there were others outside who appreciated, by inspiration, the toast he was about to propose. It was the health of their

excellent and most worthy Governor-in-Chief, Sir Richard MacDonnell."

The Governor now rises:—"My first and most natural feeling, as you may suppose, would be to thank you for the marked kindness with which you have been pleased to receive my health. My predominant feeling at present is one of regret that the change in the weather should have inconvenienced so many of our fellow-colonists. South Australia is, however, a colony that has risen superior to many more trying circumstances, and her people have ever exhibited a spirit that enabled them, like Mark Tapley, to be merry under the most adverse circumstances. Gentlemen, twenty-one years is not a long term in the history of a country or race, but it is a long portion of the life of those who founded the colony. Therefore its termination furnishes a fitting occasion for commemoration. . . . Those who can look back upon the past twenty-one years can see its history diversified by many a difficulty, encountered manfully and overcome; by many sanguine hopes deferred, but eventually realized. The first twenty-one years represented all the struggles incident to a country's infancy; but now and henceforth it will be incumbent upon you to realize the high hopes and assume the resolute bearing of vigorous manhood. . . . Everyone may have his own way of looking at the past, and I have mine, which is this: that in proportion as the colony has grown up and the colonists been blessed with free institutions and complete control of their own affairs, in the same proportion has their loyalty strengthened and their love and affection for their Sovereign become more manifest. . . . When colonies were founded formerly it was too often to gratify avarice or lust of conquest; but South Australia stood out a singular exception to the rule on which colonies were founded, whether in the classic days of Greece or Rome or later by Spain and other maritime countries. It was the result of an intelligent design which marked an important epoch in colonization, and I am happy to be with you to commemorate the success of that experiment. Gentlemen, not an acre was surveyed when the design of your colony was conceived. The peculiar feature of that design was to make the money received for the purchase of land the means of introducing emigrants to make that land productive, and to construct lines of communication between one point and another. That design has hitherto been more or less steadily adhered to, and I hope it will be long before you abandon the principle upon which your colony was founded, and upon which it has flourished."

After an able and appropriate speech, of which we have given only a part, the Governor gave "The Prosperity of South Australia" and "The Health of the Hon. James Hurtle Fisher." This was received with enthusiastic applause.

Now came the event of the day. It was the Chairman's speech in reply. The pavilion stood on the beach where Governor Hindmarsh and staff had landed just twenty-one years before. James Hurtle Fisher was present on that occasion. Could he ever forget the scene? One after another the events of foundation-day rise before him. Said he: "The imposing spectacle we now behold cannot fail to remind many among us of the scene presented on this same spot now twenty-one years since—a scene which, though less grand and gay, yet possessed an interest and momentousness all its own, as containing the germ and promise of what we now gaze upon with such emotions of joy and gratitude. On that occasion how different was our appearance. Here we stood, fresh from the tossings of the ocean, surrounded by great novelties of uncertain omen, amid stern cares, eager questionings, and unaffected toils of mind and muscle. Here we stood, now looking back with tender, perhaps poignant thoughts of the homes we had left; now looking forward, peering into the dark future for the homes we sought. Here we stood, and under the formalities of that memorable hour swore allegiance to our Sovereign, vowed fidelity to our common interest as an organized community, and looked up to the Lord and King of all nations to shield and bless us. . . . The forms of Howard, of Light, of Gouger, of Stevenson stood on this ground on that interesting day, and we may not withhold from names of more tender, more profound import the tribute of a tear and pang—all that we dare pay on this occasion, though far less than is due. It is pleasant, however, to remember that the inroads of mortality have not been great among the oldest settlers, and that vast accessions have been made to our numbers, including multitudes whose social virtues and moral worth have won the confidence and esteem of their precursors; and that from among our own playful, prattling circles some have risen to the leadership of families, the activities of gainful commerce, and the responsibilities of position and influence. We meet to celebrate the majority of our colony. As a child South Australia attracted more than ordinary notice. It could never be called feeble or dull or idle. It always had vivacity, energy, and confidence quite equal to its years."

Legislative Difficulties.

The colony had now reached its majority and responsible government had been granted, but the pioneers found that the new situation created difficulties. The London *Times* had referred to the peculiar circumstances in which the pioneer legislators would be placed. The very novelty of the position would have a tendency to make them uncertain and unsteady. They were like children no longer dependent upon the support and tutelage of others, but set down upon their feet and compelled to walk. There was the danger of excessive timidity on the one hand and of an overweening sense of their own importance on the other.

The new Parliament had not been sitting two months before the two Houses came into conflict. It was over a question of "privilege." In June, 1857, the Chief Secretary (Hon. B. T. Finniss) moved—"That the Bill passed by this House, intituled 'An Act to Repeal Tonnage Duties on Shipping' . . . having been returned to this House with amendments modifying the Bill in an essential principle, this House requests the Legislative Council to reconsider the Bill, inasmuch as it is a breach of privilege for the Legislative Council to modify any money Bill passed by this House." The motion was carried. At the same time a motion was submitted by William Younghusband in the Legislative Council to this effect—"That in the opinion of this Council the policy pursued by the Ministry in attempting to legislate by resolution in only one branch of the Legislature is detrimental to the interests of the colony, subversive to the Constitution, and calculated to bring about a collision between the two Houses of Parliament."

This resolution was withdrawn, several of the members thinking it premature. However, the two Houses were at issue with each other over the question of their respective rights and privileges. The outcome was a deadlock. The public mind was excited. There was a great discussion in the Press over the question of privilege, and debates in Parliament dragged wearily along. The way out of the difficulty was opened up by a compromise. The Legislative Council submitted to the House of Assembly a series of resolutions. Among the number were the following clauses:—

3. "That this Council declares its opinion that all Bills the object of which shall be to raise money . . . shall be held to be money Bills.
4. "That it shall be competent for this Council to suggest any alteration in any such Bill (except

that portion of the Appropriation Bill that provides for the ordinary annual expenses of the Government), and in the case of such suggestions not being agreed to by the House of Assembly such Bill may be returned by the House of Assembly to this Council for reconsideration, in which case the Bill shall then be either assented to or rejected by this Council as originally passed by the House of Assembly.

5. "That this Council, while claiming the full right to deal with the monetary affairs of the Province, does not consider it advisable to enforce its right to deal with the ordinary detail of the annual expenses of the Government. That on the Appropriation Bill, in the usual form, being submitted to this Council this Council shall, if any clause therein appear objectionable, demand a conference with the House of Assembly to state the objections of this Council, and receive information."

In response to these overtures on the part of the Legislative Council the Lower House adopted the following resolution:—

"That in order to facilitate the conduct of public business this House of Assembly, while asserting its sole right to direct, limit, and appoint in all money Bills the ends and purposes . . . will, nevertheless, for the present adopt the third, fourth, and fifth resolutions agreed to by the Legislative Council."

The First Parliament was noted for its frequent Ministerial changes. The first Ministry (the Finniss Government) lasted about four months. On August 11th, 1857, Mr. Finniss had to admit that "the Ministry had ceased to command a majority in the House." Therefore it was their duty to resign the power into the hands of those who might be able to do so.

A description of the personnel of the first Ministry may interest the reader of to-day. It was written by a contemporary who was well acquainted with all the members of the first Cabinet under responsible government. "The Attorney-General (Hon. R. D. Hanson) seldom makes an altogether unprovoked attack. Unfortunately, however, he frequently carries his rejoinders to an extreme. A casual and, perhaps, playful sarcasm he meets with a set and crushing retort, and this converts a good-humoured opponent into an exasperated enemy. There are no bounds to the intensity of Mr.

Hanson's caustic counter-attacks within the range of his intellectual power. Unfortunately, also, he is not careful as to the weapons he uses. His sole object seems to be to inflict a blow that shall produce the utmost possible effect. The consequence is that his political antagonists sometimes find their feelings outraged rather than their judgment convinced. . . . With the exception of this fault—a fault in policy as well as in temper—perhaps there is little to complain of in the personal demeanour of the Attorney-General. Were we able to say as much conscientiously for the Treasurer (Hon. R. R. Torrens) our faith in the stability of the Ministry would be much stronger than it now is. The attacks of Mr. Torrens are as frequently made without apparent provocation as in self-defence. If we were to compare him with Apollo instead of with Hercules, and to arm him with a bow instead of a club, we should describe him by saying that his arrows are barbed and envenomed, and that he shoots them almost at random. He has not the strength of arm of the Attorney-General, but the poison of his weapons causes the wounds he makes to rankle and fester when those inflicted by his colleagues have been healed and forgotten." Of the Chief Secretary (Hon. B. T. Finniss) the critic said: "He is ordinarily courteous and conciliatory; he gives respectful attention to suggestions from any quarter; and he does not appear to take a savage delight in wounding the feelings of those from whom he differs." The Commissioner of Public Works (Hon. C. Bonney) "by his gentlemanly bearing frequently prevented opposition in the Legislative Council. It would be impossible to find an official with less of the insolence of office pertaining to him. Mr. Bonney had scarcely less suavity than the Hon. Mr. Davenport, and his deportment in the House was unexceptionable."

After the resignation of the first Ministry under responsible government, the character of which has just been described, George Marsden Waterhouse was requested to form a Ministry, but could not see his way clear to accept office.

John Baker was sent for and undertook the task, with the following result:—

Hon. John Baker, Chief Secretary.
Hon. John Hart, Treasurer.
Hon. Edward C. Gwynne, Attorney-General.
Hon. Arthur Blyth, Commissioner of Public Works.
Hon. William Milne, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

This was a strong combination, but it was born, dead, and buried in the course of a few days. Shortly after its

formation Robert Torrens moved—"That this House has no confidence in the existing Administration." The voting was twenty-four for the motion and seven against, so that the Baker Ministry fell without having the opportunity of trying its hand at controlling the destinies of the Province.

Robert Torrens was then asked to form a Government. This he did, choosing the following members:—

Hon. Robert Torrens, Chief Secretary.
Hon. John B. Hughes, Treasurer.
Hon. R. B. Andrews Attorney-General.
Hon. Samuel Davenport, Commissioner of Public Works.
Hon. Marshall MacDermott, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

Nemesis soon overtook this Government. Concerning the Torrens Ministry Richard Davies Hanson sarcastically and truly said: "The round men were all in square holes and the square men in round holes; everybody was in the very place for which he was least fit. Mr. Hughes, a judge of sheep and of runs, who might have been fit for the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands, had been appointed Treasurer, and Mr. MacDermott, whose banking experience qualified him for administering finance, had been placed at the head of a department charged with the management of sheep, cattle, and pasturage—Commissioner of Crown Lands."

The Torrens Administration lasted only a few weeks.

Speaking of these frequent changes of government *The Register* said: "The grand struggle for office has now fairly set in. The representatives of the people are more or less engaged in a sublime scramble. Regardless of the decencies of political usage, careless of the ordinary courtesies of official intercourse, each is trying to elbow his neighbour in the great place-hunting mêlée. It is a spectacle worthy the contemplation of a free and enlightened community. . . . The whole time of the country is now occupied in Parliamentary place-hunting. We refuse to give it any other name."

After the defeat of the Torrens Ministry Richard Davies Hanson was asked to form an Administration. This he did, as follows:—

Hon William Younghusband, Chief Secretary.
Hon John Hart, Treasurer.
Hon. Richard D. Hanson, Attorney-General.
Hon. Thomas Reynolds, Commissioner of Public Works.
Hon. Francis S. Dutton, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

This was a very strong Ministry. Each member was an able man and apparently well fitted for his office. It was defeated on May 27th, 1859, on a motion of Mr. Strangways expressing dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Government in reference to the Babbage Exploring Expedition. The result was that the Ministry did not go out of office. Mr. Hanson reconstructed his Cabinet.

The First Parliament, so far as the House of Assembly was concerned, came to an end on March 1st, 1860. On the ninth day of the same month the elections for the second Parliament began. The working classes awoke to a consciousness of their power and took great interest in the elections. One of the main questions on which the elections turned was that of the continuance of immigration at the public expense The working classes stoutly opposed the continuance of the system; they believed it to be responsible for much of the distress that had prevailed in their ranks. At the ballot-box they made their influence felt. The consequence was that seventeen of the members elected to the second Parliament were new men.

The second House of Assembly was constituted as follows: —

City of Adelaide—Thomas Reynolds, Matthew Moorhouse, Philip Santo, Samuel Bakewell, Richard Davies Hanson, and William Parkin. (Later James Penn Boucaut took Mr. Hanson's place.)
Port Adelaide—William Owen and Patrick B. Coglin.
West Torrens—Thomas Magarey and George Morphett.
Yatala—Lavington Glyde and Edward McEllister.
Gumeracha—Arthur Blyth and Alexander Hay.
East Torrens—Henry Mildred and Neville Blyth.
Sturt—Joseph Peacock and John Hallett.
Noarlunga—David Sutherland and Alex. Anderson.
Mount Barker—Boyle Travers Finniss and John Dunn.
Onkaparinga—William Milne and William Townsend.
Encounter Bay—John Lindsay and Henry Bull Templar Strangways.
Barossa—Edward L. Grundy and Walter Duffield.
Murray—David Wark
Light—John T. Bagot and Francis S. Dutton.
Victoria—George C. Hawker.
Burra and Clare—William Dale, George W. Cole, and William Lennon.
Flinders—William J. Browne.

John Bentham Neales and George S. Kingston were among the rejected.

The elections were very orderly. This was due largely to the ballot. "Hurrah for the Ballot!" said the Press. "It is the great peace-monger, the great anti-bribery agent, and the champion and guardian of political independence. Take the city elections. Under any other than the present system the struggle would have been fearful. We have every element of political strife in the city of Adelaide. There is, first of all, the Government influence; next, the influence of the Political Association; then the moneyed interest; the Protestant interest; the Irish, German, and other interests. It is enough that ten candidates have been eagerly contending for six seats; yet what a marvel of quietness and good order we have witnessed."

The second Parliament was opened on April 27th, 1860. Mr. G. C. Hawker was chosen as Speaker. Although the Ministry had submitted a fairly liberal policy the character of the House had so changed that the Government had little hope of retaining its position. Thomas Reynolds moved a resolution which was tantamount to a want of confidence, and the Hanson Administration was defeated by a majority of two to one.

On this occasion Mr. Hanson delivered a very able speech. "To have elicited such a speech," so the Press said, "was almost a compensation for the overthrow of the Ministry." For "power, lucidity, and brilliant effect it had never been equalled in a South Australian Legislature." All who listened to it with an unprejudiced mind "must have felt proud that the Assembly of the colony contained a man of such surpassing powers."

When the Hanson Ministry was defeated Mr. Reynolds was sent for and entrusted with the task of forming a new Administration. In this he succeeded, choosing the following: —

Hon. Thomas Reynolds, Premier and Treasurer.
Hon. George M. Waterhouse, Chief Secretary.
Hon. H. B. T. Strangways, Attorney-General.
Hon. Alex. Hay, Commissioner of Public Works.
Hon. John T. Bagot, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

This Ministry was defeated on May 10th, 1861, on a very small matter. Consequently His Excellency again sent for Mr. Reynolds and asked him to reconstruct his Government. At first he was unable to do this, there being so many difficulties in the way.

The Governor then asked Samuel Davenport to form a Cabinet, but he could not succeed in doing so.

A message was again sent to Mr. Reynolds, asking him once more to attempt the reconstruction of his Government. This time he succeeded, taking into the Ministry the Hons. John Morphett and Randolph I. Stow, who had been elected to take the place of George Morphett in the second Parliament.

What is known as the Boothby case created great difficulties and dissensions. Speaking of this case the Press said: "It was felt that His Honor (Judge Boothby) was impeding the settlement of questions arising in the Supreme Court and involving suitors in heavy expenses by arbitrary and technical objections against many of the Acts passed by the Legislature, and Select Committees were appointed by Parliament to enquire into the state of the laws impugned by His Honor, and into His Honor's judicial conduct. When the Committees had reported resolutions were brought forward and passed in both Houses praying Her Majesty to remove Mr. Justice Boothby from the Bench."

All the members of Parliament did not take the view above expressed. The consequence was that there was strife, rancour, division, and recrimination in the Legislature. The Ministry was divided against itself, and the whole Province, as well as Parliament, was stirred from centre to circumference.

The Hon. John Morphett (Chief Secretary) and the Hon. R. I. Stow (Attorney-General) could not support the motion for the removal of the Judge, and like honest men they resigned their positions. The Hon. Thomas Reynolds could not reconstruct his Cabinet. "Mr. Reynolds applied to Mr. Waterhouse, but Mr. Waterhouse did not feel inclined to join Mr. Reynolds. Consequently the latter and his colleagues had to resign. Mr. Waterhouse was then sent for, and he applied to Mr. Reynolds, who returned the compliment by declining to join Mr. Waterhouse. Each of these gentlemen wanted the other, but neither felt disposed to be subordinate." There were two political leaders at bay. The result was that on October 8th, 1861, the Reynolds Ministry had to hand in its resignation.

George M. Waterhouse was then sent for, and formed a *pro tem.* Ministry as follows: —

Hon. George M. Waterhouse, Chief Secretary.
Hon. Arthur Blyth, Treasurer.
Henry Gawler, Attorney-General.
Hon. P. Santo, Commissioner of Public Works
Hon. Matthew Moorhouse, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

This was peculiar legislation. The Ministry was simply formed and supported until the motion in relation to Judge Boothby was carried. Mr. Waterhouse had to go outside Parliament for an Attorney-General.

As soon as the Boothby case was disposed of by Parliament the *pro tem.* Ministry resigned. It held office about nine days. Mr. Waterhouse was again sent for, and experienced great difficulty in forming an Administration. Ultimately the following consented to act: —

Hon. George M. Waterhouse, Chief Secretary.
Hon. Thomas Reynolds, Treasurer.
Hon. R. I. Stow, Attorney-General.
Hon. John Lindsay, Commissioner of Public Works.
Hon. H. B. T. Strangways, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Advertiser, speaking of the formation of this Ministry, said: "The difficulties that have occurred in the formation of the new Ministry strongly exhibit the impolicy of making personal enemies in a Legislature so limited. It would be absurd to deny that during the late debates on the Boothby question much acrimony was evinced. As the result of these debates there are several members who will not act with certain other members. Such a feeling does exist, and we advert to it merely to point out how injurious it is to the public interest for debates in Parliament to degenerate into personalities, and for honourable members to so conduct themselves towards opponent in discussion as to be unable to act cordially with them afterwards."

The Waterhouse Ministry resigned on February 17th, 1862, but was reconstructed, the Hon. Arthur Blyth taking the place of the Hon. Thomas Reynolds as Treasurer and the Hon. William Milne taking the place of the Hon. J. Lindsay as Commissioner of Public Works.

THE MYSTERIOUS INTERIOR
AND ATTEMPTS TO PENETRATE IT.



The Eyre Expedition leaving Adelaide in 1840.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MYSTERIOUS INTERIOR AND ATTEMPTS TO PENETRATE IT.

Round all mystery there is a fascination. It is this fact that has led so many men to risk their lives in attempts to penetrate into the interior of Africa and to reach the North Pole. What lies beyond? This is a question that man is not only constrained to ask, but must endeavour to answer. The first immigrants were located on a vast plain. All the country beyond the range of vision was a *terra incognita*. What lies beyond? Is the interior inhabited or uninhabited? Mountainous or level? Barren or fertile? What kind of plants does it produce? Are there any new species of animals? By what kind of race is it peopled? What are their manners and customs? Are there any large rivers, lakes, or inland seas? Is it possible to traverse the continent? Such were the questions that appealed to the pioneers and which they soon endeavoured to answer.

Sheep, cattle, and horses were needed in the New Settlement. Would it be possible to bring these overland from some of the other colonies? The first to solve the problem, as we have pointed out, were Joseph Hawdon and Charles Bonney.

Shortly after Edward John Eyre, another pastoralist in New South Wales, brought over a mob of cattle. He found the journey a perilous one. Six horses died, and himself and two men nearly perished from want of food and water. Mr. Eyre was the first man to bring sheep over from New South Wales. Farther on we shall see that he was a born adventurer—bold, determined, cool, calculating, and resourceful. He was not the man to give way to panic or to lose his wits in the presence of difficulty and danger. Eyre had the "conquer or die" spirit. He was the stuff out of which heroes are made—the material that is wanted in nation-building.

The Eyre Expedition.

Eyre was the first man to endeavour to penetrate the interior of the Continent. His expedition grew out of a visit that Captain (afterwards Governor) George Grey paid to the New Settlement in 1840. He suggested to some of the leading

immigrants the advisableness of trying to find an overland route between South and Western Australia. If a route were discovered Captain Grey thought it might be possible to send stock from one colony to another. Eyre felt a great interest in the proposal. His eyes, however, were directed to the northern interior. He suggested that public attention should be given to it, so that, if possible, the veil might be lifted from the unknown and mysterious centre of the vast Australian Continent. Eyre dined with Governor Gawler, and the two talked the matter over. He volunteered to take charge of a party and to find one-third of the number of horses required and one-third of the money. To make this possible he broke up his sheep station on the river Light. The pioneers took the matter up, raising by subscription £582. Governor Gawler contributed £100, and Mr. Eyre gave £680 out of his own resources. Governor Gawler offered the use of any two horses belonging to the police, and a small vessel, the *Waterwitch*, was also placed at his disposal. The vessel was to convey stores to the head of Spencer's Gulf. Eyre was to proceed to Lake Torrens and examine it, and then to penetrate as far into the northern interior of the Continent as possible. Previous to this, at his own expense, he had made excursions to the north both from Port Lincoln and Adelaide.

The party consisted of Mr. Eyre and his companion (Mr. Scott), John Baxter (who had been the overseer of his sheep station), Corporal Coles (of the Royal Engineers), John Houston, R. McRoberts, and two blackboys. All the preparations were now made.

. . . . . .

It is Thursday morning, June 18th, 1840. The little settlement on the plains is astir. Something very unusual must be about to happen. Outside of Government House, North Terrace, are some drays and several horses. The drays are laden with camping requirements. Two blackboys and several white men are in attendance. Gentlemen are riding into the Government Domain. Several conveyances are driving up and the occupants are alighting. While the blackboys and men partake of a meal provided by Governor Gawler a meeting is held in the drawing-room of Government House. It is the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, in which Governor Gawler took so prominent and courageous a part. No wonder there is so much animation among the ladies and gentlemen present. Who could forget the battle of Waterloo? Least of all the Governor. But it is not the famous battle that the Governor and guests have so much in mind. They

have met to say farewell to Edward John Eyre, who is about to enter upon one of the most heroic and hazardous enterprises ever undertaken by man.

After breakfast Governor Gawler rises and addresses the company:—"We are assembled to promote one of the most important undertakings that remains to be accomplished on the face of the globe—the discovery of the interior of Australia. Mr. Eyre goes forth this day to endeavour to plant the British flag in the very centre of our island Continent. May triumph crown his efforts. All have given to Mr. Eyre their best wishes, but to good wishes right-minded men always add fervent prayers. There is an almighty, invisible Being in whose hands are all events. Let us, therefore, implore His protection."

Some of the pioneer ladies, among others Miss Hindmarsh (daughter of the first Governor) and Miss Lipson (daughter of the first harbourmaster), had worked in silk a handsome Union Jack for presentation to Mr. Eyre. The gallant explorer Captain Sturt now rises: "I am to deliver you this flag in the name of the ladies who made it, with their best wishes for your success and their earnest prayers for your safety. This noble colour, the ensign of our country, has cheered the brave on many occasions. You have to carry it to the centre of a mighty Continent, there to leave it as a sign to the savage that the footprints of civilized man have proceeded so far. Go forth, then, on your journey with a full confidence in the goodness of Providence, and may Heaven direct your steps." Under deep emotion Mr. Eyre receives the flag and tenders his thanks. All heads are bowed while the Rev. C. B. Howard (Colonial Chaplain) offers prayer.

It is now 12 o'clock. A large party of the pioneer immigrants have gathered round Government House. A procession of horsemen is formed, cheers are given, and away the fearless explorer canters down the North Adelaide track accompanied by sympathizing friends. After proceeding a few miles they say farewell, and Edward J. Eyre and party are left alone to pursue their journey into an unknown land —a land of sand, drought, stones, saltbush, and scrub, into the mysteries of which the mind of civilized man has never peered, and over which the foot of white man has never trod. That day they travelled as far as the Little Para, and then camped for the night. Said Eyre: "From the crowded drawing-room of civilized life I had in a few hours been transferred to the solitude and silence of the wilds. . . . I had suddenly become isolated with regard to the world which, so far as I was concerned, now consisted only of the few brave

men who accompanied me, and who were dependent for their very existence upon the energy, perseverance, and prudence with which I might conduct the task. With this small but gallant and faithful band I was to attempt the vast recesses of the interior of Australia, and to lift up the veil which had hitherto shrouded its mysteries. . . . When all nature around me was buried in deep repose I alone was waking and anxious."

He looked to the Flinders Range as a stepping-stone to the interior.

The next morning they marched on to Gawler, where they had lunch. They then pushed on to Mr. Eyre's station on the Light. When the station was left they had thirteen horses, forty sheep, and provisions to last about three months, in addition to what had been sent by the *Waterwitch* to the head of Spencer's Gulf.

About 120 miles north of the primitive settlement the party met a poor old emaciated native, apparently left by his tribe to die. He was reduced to a mere skeleton, and life was slowly ebbing away. They also fell in with a party of natives at a stream that Eyre had named Rocky River.

Travelling on, Eyre saw a high-pointed hill in the Flinders Range which he named Mount Remarkable. He also came to a watercourse, to which he gave the name of Crystal Brook. The party pushed on to Mount Arden. At the head of Spencer's Gulf they received their stores which had been shipped by the *Waterwitch*. At Mount Arden a depot was formed, and stores and men were left there while Eyre and a blackboy, with two horses, proceeded to explore the interior. They went on to Mount Eyre. This was the most northerly limit of a journey that Mr. Eyre had made in 1839. He climbed to the top, but all around saw little but sterility. In the distance, apparently about 25 miles off, was the glittering bed of Lake Torrens. Pushing on the travellers came to the lake. It seemed to be from 15 to 20 miles across and from 40 to 50 miles long. The bed of the lake was a saline deposit that glittered brilliantly in the sun. Beneath this salt crust there was a bog. Consequently Eyre could not go far enough into the centre of the lake to see whether or not it contained water. It was evident that he could not travel farther in this direction. His hope of success in penetrating farther into the interior lay in the continuation of the Flinders Range. In its recesses he thought that it might be possible to obtain food and water. The party now turned in the direction of the range. Fortunately here and there the travellers came to a puddle in the plain—a kind of

claypan—where they obtained a little water. A great many emus were seen, and occasionally the party saw indications of the presence of blacks. They came upon a young lubra (female native) miserably thin and squalid, like the wretched country in which her lot had been cast. Everywhere Eyre found the presence of salt. Said he: "In such country what accommodation could I expect, or what hopes could I entertain for the future when the very water shed from the clouds would not be drinkable after remaining a few hours on the ground? Whichever way I turned myself—to the west, east, or north—nothing but difficulties met my view. . . . The very stones lying upon the hills looked like the scorched and withering scoria of a volcanic region; and even the natives, judging from the specimens I had seen, partook of the general misery and wretchedness of the place." Eyre and the blackboy now moved in the direction of Mount Deception. Having ascended this mount they travelled backward in a south-easterly direction to search for water in the hills. Eyre was anxious to find permanent water so that he might remove his depot farther into the interior. He discovered a small but deep pool of water in a hole in a rock that would last for some time, and resolved to bring the whole party this far. This he called Depot Pool. He was now about 120 miles from the depot at Mount Arden. In the journey back both the blackboy and himself suffered great privation. The country was terribly rough, water scarce, and food unpalatable. Occasionally the blackboy secured an opossum or Eyre shot a kangaroo, which was a welcome change from damper. After being absent sixteen days they arrived safely at the depot at Mount Arden and found all well. Here they buried some provisions, and made preparations again to penetrate into the interior. In the course of a few days the whole party reached Depot Pool.

With a blackboy and a man on horseback leading a packhorse carrying water, Mr. Eyre again made for the interior. They travelled for the most westerly point of Mount Deception Range. In every direction the prospect was cheerless and disheartening. They surprised a camp of blacks around a fire, who, overwhelmed with terror, took to flight, leaving two small children behind. In the blacks' camp Eyre and his party found some water in kangaroo skins, to which they helped themselves, leaving as payment a pocket-handkerchief. When they retraced their steps the next day they found the two terrified children still in the camp, apparently abandoned by the lubras. The fire had gone out, and the elder of the two had scraped a hole in the ashes, in which

they had spent the cold winter's night. Eyre and party again returned to Depot Pool and found all well, but the water almost exhausted. What to do or where to go Eyre could not tell. He had found a pool of water in some rocks near the Mount Deception Range, and decided to move the whole party to this. Forming a depot here, Eyre determined to push as far northward as possible. He took with him a black-boy, a cart loaded with water (about 65 gallons), three horses, and a driver. They steered for a high hill, which he named Mount Norwest. In the journey they surprised four wretched natives, who fled in terror. Eyre, anxious to obtain information if possible, galloped after them and narrowly escaped being speared. The native overtaken was so terrified that no information could be obtained from him. All round Mount Norwest was a scene of desolation. To save their lives and the lives of the horses the party had to go back 50 miles to a place where they had buried some water, and thence they returned to the depot. Drawing near the depot, Eyre was surprised to see about thirty savages round it brandishing their spears. It appears that in his absence his overseer (Baxter) had captured a native woman to gain information about water, and the savages had gathered for the purpose of revenge. Eyre was a wise and kind-hearted man. He determined that nothing but dire necessity should lead him to take the life of a black. Fortunately the natives retired. The party now set out to search for water. Eyre again went to examine the western shore of Lake Torrens. No special discoveries were made, and he returned to the depot. Preparations were now made for breaking up the encampment. The party steered north for some distance. Eyre then ascended a mountain, which he named Mount Serle. From the summit there was a very wide and forlorn view. Said he: "At one glance I saw the realization of my worst forebodings and the termination of the expedition of which I had command. On every side we were hemmed in by a barrier which we could never hope to pass. Our toils and labours and privations had all been endured to no purpose.[36]

His last effort in the North was to decide the actual termination of the Flinders Range. He steered for a mountain, to which he gave the name of Mount Hopeless. Having ascended this, he saw "a cheerless and hopeless prospect," and demonstrated the termination of the Flinders Range in

[36] Thirty-two years later a telegraph line was stretched across this apparently impracticable country.

the basin of Lake Torrens. The whole party then went back to the first depot at Mount Arden.

Eyre was not yet discouraged. His was a heroic spirit. He determined to try to penetrate into the interior either eastward or westward. He made up his mind to travel to Streaky Bay and to find a route into the interior of the Australian Continent by travelling westward. The buried stores were now dug up and the party travelled in the direction of Streaky Bay. A depot was formed on the West Coast, at Point Fowler.

Leaving a party in charge of the stores at Point Fowler Eyre, with a native and two horses, set out westward. After travelling some distance they were driven back to the depot from want of water.

It was Eyre's desire to get round what is known as the Great Australian Bight. A dray was now fitted up and laden with 70 gallons of water. With a blackboy and one of his men Eyre again set his face westward. After travelling many miles in the bush over terrific country, suffering great privations and losing by death three horses, he and his party were again compelled to return to the depot at Point Fowler. The chief difficulty was need of water.

At all hazards the heroic explorer was determined to get round the Australian Bight. He now decided to reduce the number of his party. Two men were sent back to Adelaide by the *Waterwitch*, then lying in Fowler's Bay. He would make one more effort to get round the Bight. Once again, in face of appalling difficulties, he faced the west. This time he took with him his overseer (Baxter), a man driving three horses in a dray with water, and a blackboy. They fell in with a party of natives who gave them to understand that there was no water inland. However, there were 85 gallons on the dray, and the party pushed on. The horses gave in, and were taken back by the overseer for water and rest. After two days they were ready to make another start. A cask of water was buried for future use, if need be. Some miles farther on another cask was buried. This was to provide for a possible return journey. The overseer was now sent back with the dray to the depot. Eyre, with one of his men and one of his blackboys, again went forward. Ere long the man lost heart and was sent back. Eyre and the blackboy were now alone in the bush. Near the head of the Bight they came to a native pathway, and suddenly came upon four blacks camped by a waterhole. At first these were hostile, but Eyre soon gained their confidence. From

the blacks they obtained both food and water. The "barbarous people showed them no little kindness," guiding them some miles onward to a place called by them Yeerkumban Kauwe. Here there were food and water for the horses. The natives gave them to understand that in the interior there was no water. For some time Eyre and the blackboy remained here. Having renewed their strength they again proceeded westward. This time Eyre achieved his purpose. He got round the Australian Bight and obtained some knowledge of the country. He and the black now retraced their steps. On the way back to the depot they again fell in with the friendly natives who had shown them such kindness before. These had the half-roasted body of a kangaroo, of which Eyre and the blackboy were invited to partake. They got back to the place where they had buried 20 gallons of water, and here they found the overseer on the lookout for them, with two fresh horses to assist them back to the depot at Point Fowler.

Eyre had been 45 miles beyond the head of the Australian Bight. He was now satisfied that in this direction there was no route into the mysterious interior. In trying to go round the Bight he had travelled 643 miles.

As soon as the horses were rested he determined to force a passage, if possible, round the coast to King George's Sound—a formidable undertaking.

Having secured a native (Wylie) from Western Australia and made the necessary preparation, Eyre again started westward, taking with him his overseer (Baxter), two blackboys, and the native from Western Australia. To reach King George's Sound meant a journey of nearly 900 miles, much of it through almost impracticable desert. Said he: "We were now alone, myself, my overseer, and three native boys, with a fearful task before us. We must reach King George's Sound or perish. The result we humbly left to that Almighty Being who had guided and guarded us hitherto amidst all our difficulties."

They had with them some sheep and ten horses. Eyre took the same course as previously. He passed the farthest point that he had reached on his former journey round the Bight. He now calculated that they had travelled 110 miles from the last water, but the country remained the same—waterless. The sheep had to be left behind for a time with the overseer while Eyre pushed on in search of water to save the horses. These had been four days without water, and the supply for the men was now exhausted. The blackboy was worn out and Eyre was little better. He tells how he

lay down to wait for daylight, but not to sleep, agitated by apprehensions as to the fate of the overseer and blackboys left behind. They were now 128 miles from the last water, and had been four days without any and without food. If water could not be discovered in the morning the horses must perish, and perhaps the men too.

The next morning, after travelling some distance, they came to a native pathway leading down to the seashore. Following this they providentially, as Eyre affirmed, came to some native wells where was a good supply of water. Where were the overseer and the two native boys? Would they reach this God-send? Such were the thoughts that agitated Eyre's mind. Next morning with the first streak of daylight he and the blackboy hurried back to meet the overseer and party, carrying with them some water. Eyre met them slowly travelling onward, though greatly exhausted.

Having rested for some time at the native wells they again proceeded westward. There were still from 600 to 800 miles to travel through absolutely unknown country. The sheep that the overseer had brought on were now reduced in number to three, and the stock of flour amounted to only 142 lb., to be shared among five persons. Said the heroic traveller: "The task before us was indeed a fearful one, but I firmly hoped, by patience and perseverance, safely and successfully to accomplish it."

They were now 72 miles from water. On they travelled over sandy ridges, salt swamps, and past dense scrub. Soon they were 120 miles from the last water. The native boys extracted some from the roots of trees, but not sufficient in quantity to be serviceable to the horses. Again the horses began to collapse; one had to be abandoned to certain death. Five days had passed since the last water had been left. Said Eyre: "Whenever we halted they (the horses) followed us about like dogs, appearing to look to us only for aid, and exhibiting that confidence in us which I trust we reposed in the Almighty." Another horse fell. Their supply of water in the keg was nearly gone. Now the last drop was consumed. With a sponge Eyre gathered some of the dew that had fallen on the grass during the night, and in this way secured a little water. After resting for a night they travelled on again, and then tried to secure water by digging in the sand. To their great joy they were successful. "Words would be inadequate," said the explorer, "to express the joy and thankfulness of my little party at once more finding ourselves in safety, with abundance of water near

us." Since leaving the last water they had travelled 160 miles, and the horses had been seven days without water and almost without food. The party was now reduced to one sheep. In his Journal the leader wrote: "That gracious God, without whose assistance all hope of safety had been in vain, had heard our earnest prayers for His aid, and I trust that in our deliverance we recognized and acknowledged with sincerity and thankfulness His guiding and protecting hand."

After camping here for some time they resumed their journey. The party was now about half-way between Fowler's Bay and King George's Sound. Food and water were again almost exhausted, but there was nothing to do but to push on and trust in Providence. Even if they had wished to retrace their steps to Fowler's Bay such was now impossible. A horse was killed for food. Eyre had trouble with the blackboys. They became mutinous and stole the rations. Consequently they were put on less allowance. Two of them left the party, but subsequently returned. Wearily and painfully they pushed on in the direction of King George's Sound.

Camping one night an awful tragedy occurred. Eyre left the camp to keep the horses from straying. He saw a flash of fire and heard the report of a gun. In a few minutes the King George's Sound native (Wylie) came running toward him crying, "Oh, massa! Oh, massa, come here!" Upon reaching the camp he saw his faithful overseer (Baxter) weltering in his blood and in the agonies of death. He had been shot by the other two blackboys and the camp had been plundered. Said the stricken leader: "He who had faithfully served me for many years, who had followed my fortunes in adversity and prosperity, who had accompanied me in all my wanderings, and whose attachment to me had been his sole inducement to remain with me in this last and (to him) fatal journey was now no more. . . . The horrors of my situation glared upon me in such startling reality as for an instant almost to paralyse the mind. At the dead of night, in the wildest and most inhospitable waste of Australia, with the fierce wind raging in unison with the scene of violence before me, I was left with a single native, whose fidelity I could not rely upon, and who, for aught I knew, might be in league with the other two, who perhaps were even now lurking about with the view of taking away my life. . . . Three days had passed away since we left the last water, and it was doubtful when we might find any more. Six hundred miles of country had to be traversed before I could hope to obtain assistance."

It was night-time. Eyre and the native boy had to leave the scene of violence to look after the horses. If they lost these, all was lost. "Ages," said Eyre, "can never efface the horrors of this single night, nor would the wealth of the world even tempt me to go through similar ones again."

The awful night came to an end. Morning dawned. The corpse of the murdered man lay upon the ground with eyes opened, but glazed in death. It seemed as though he had been awakened by the blackboys plundering the camp, and had risen to prevent them, but was shot in the act. Wylie disclaimed all knowledge of the circumstances. The younger of the blackboys had been with Eyre for four years; the other two and a half years. It was an awful tragedy, but probably had not been premeditated.

The nature of the ground was so rocky that Eyre could not dig a grave. He had to reverently wrap the body in a blanket and leave it where it lay.

Everything had now to be abandoned but the bare necessaries of life. Some specimens that had been collected, books, and instruments were thrown away. Every additional pound weight jeopardized the lives of the weak horses. Some bread was baked, and Eyre and the blackboy (Wylie) again faced westward. On the way the other two blackboys made their appearance in the distance and tried to induce Wylie to join them, but without success. Eyre lost sight of them, and probably they perished in the bush.

A welcome change was now observed in the nature of the country. Their water was again getting low. Several holes in the rocks were seen, but they did not contain water. They were now 130 miles from the last water. "The poor horses still crawled on," said the forlorn traveller. "I was surprised that they were still alive. As for ourselves, we were both getting weaker and worn out, as well as lame. It was with the greatest difficulty that I could get Wylie to move if he once sat down. I had myself the same kind of apathetic feeling, and would gladly have lain down and slept for ever. Nothing but a strong sense of duty prevented me from giving way to this indulgence." They came to a native road leading to the beach, and to their great joy discovered a native well containing water.

After resting here for a time the travellers again went forward. A light rain now fell for about three hours. One of the horses was so exhausted that it could not keep up with the others. It was killed for food. With a fresh supply of food and water they travelled on, keeping near the seashore. Vegetation continued to improve and

good water was found. Both Eyre and the blackboy were unwell, and they decided, as water and food for the horses were now abundant, to rest for a few days. After doing so slowly and wearily they again moved on. The shooting of a kangaroo was a welcome change from horseflesh. Of this circumstance Eyre says: "Having seen some kangaroos near our camp I sent Wylie with his rifle to try and get one." He brought home one large enough for two good meals. This was cooked. "Wylie commenced by eating 1½ lb. of horseflesh and a little bread; he then ate entrails, paunch, liver, lights, tail, and two hindlegs of the kangaroo. Next followed a penguin that he had found upon the beach; upon this he forced the whole of the hide of the kangaroo, after singeing the hair off, and wound up this meal by swallowing the tough skin of the penguin. He then made a fire and lay down to sleep."

The next day they came upon traces of the former presence of Europeans. On one of the trees near the beach letters had been cut. Evidently some whalers had camped upon the shore.

In the course of their journey they came to a fresh-water lake—the first permanent water they had seen since leaving Fowler's Bay, a distance of nearly 700 miles. Farther on they went down to the seashore, and were joyfully surprised to see some boats in the distance. Looking westward they saw the masts of a large vessel. Ere long the intrepid explorer and his blackboy were on board a French whaler, in a bay that Eyre named Rossiter Bay, after the captain of the vessel. In the evening the traveller lay down to rest, as he tells, "sincerely grateful to the Almighty for having guided him through so many difficulties, and for the inexpressible relief afforded when so much needed."

After spending some weeks on board, and having received stores from the captain, Eyre and Wylie once more resumed their journey to King George's Sound. They bade farewell to Captain Rossiter and his crew on June 15th, and on July 7th reached King George's Sound, Western Australia. After a warm welcome from the residents of Albany, in a few days Eyre was sailing for Port Adelaide. Wylie, after having received a reward from the Government, rejoined his tribe at King George's Sound.

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Once again we are in the primitive settlement on the banks of the Torrens. It is Thursday, August 26th, 1841. A banquet is spread. Captain Charles Sturt is in the chair.

Governor Gawler has left the colony, but his successor (Governor Grey) is present. He proposes the health of the gallant explorer Eyre. Edward John Eyre, who had passed through tragic experiences that would have crushed the life out of any ordinary man, rises to acknowledge the toast. He says: "Although we have not been able to lift the veil which is drawn before the centre of this still mysterious Continent, I would yet hope that others may profit by our ill-success, and that some future and more fortunate traveller may, by knowing where the interior is not practicable, be directed to where it is. I have much reason to be most sincerely grateful to that merciful and protecting Providence who has guided me through so many difficulties and guarded me through so many dangers."

The pioneers presented him with a testimonial, and four of them, as an expression of admiration, gave him eighty sheep—a valuable gift in the early days. Eyre demonstrated the fact that there was not a single watercourse on the coast of Australia from Port Lincoln to King George's Sound. He thought that from the nature of the country through which he had passed it was not likely to be invaded again, but in 1870 John Forrest (now Sir John, of Western Australia) and a party came through from Western Australia to Adelaide. They accomplished the journey in five months Along the route that Eyre took a telegraph line is now stretched between the two States.

Associated with Eyre in his attempt to penetrate the interior was Edward Bate Scott, to whom in our "Sketches of the Pioneer Explorers" reference will be made.

The Frome Expedition.

After Eyre's return to Adelaide Captain Frome was sent out with an exploring party. This was in 1843. The object of the expedition was to examine the country in the vicinity of Lake Torrens. The expedition revealed little but the sterile nature of the country they had to examine. Frome proved that what appeared to Eyre to be the eastern arm of Lake Torrens was a desert of drifting sand. On their way they lost one of the party in the scrub, but fortunately he found his way back to the camp after being five days without food or water.

Captain Frome was the surveyor-general appointed by the Commissioners in London to succeed Colonel Light. He returned to England in 1849 and became a colonel in the Royal Engineers. Frome Road within the city bounds, Lake

Frome, and the District of Frome are named after him. He died in the Old Land in 1890, aged eighty-eight years.

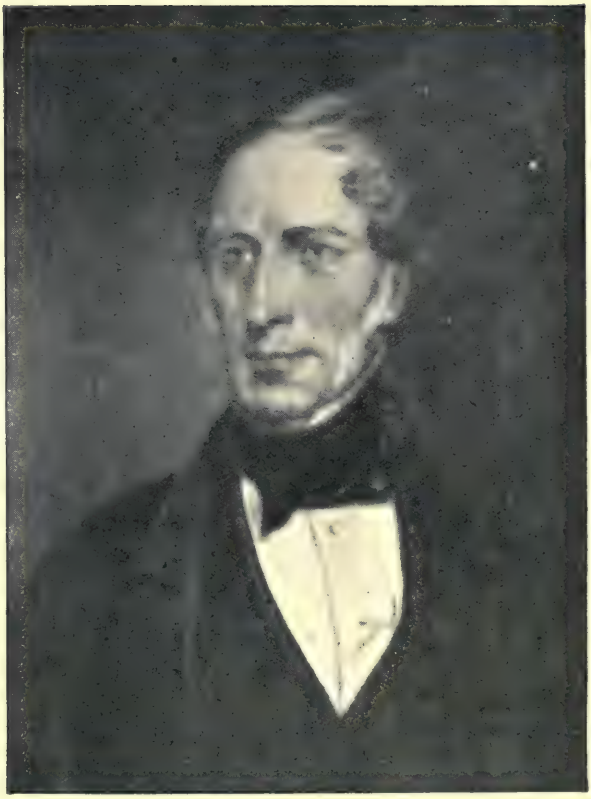
The Sturt Expedition.

In connection with this a romantic incident must be related. In 1903 I wrote some historical sketches for the South Australian *Advertiser*. One of these dealt with Captain Sturt. A letter came to hand some time after containing an extraordinary statement. The writer said: "I have something of interest to tell you. I have in my possession Captain Sturt's diary, written by his own hand. How did I come into possession of this book? you may ask. My father was Captain Sturt's gardener. When the captain left for England (this was in 1853) he told my father to clear up all the rubbish and burn it. My mother, who was helping him, thought that it was a pity to burn this book, so she took it home and kept it. When she died she gave it to me. That is the history of Captain Sturt's diary." The writer's romantic story appeared to be true. As soon as opportunity offered I examined the diary and found the man's statement to be correct. It was the diary which Sturt had kept in connection with the stirring expedition that we are about to consider. There was the daily record for at least eight months of his experiences in the wilds of Australia in 1845.

Here, indeed, was a remarkable circumstance. Captain Sturt was a great and good man. Among the pioneers of South Australia he stands unique. As stated in our first chapter, he was the discoverer of the Province in 1830. It was he who discovered and named the river Murray, and who, as we shall farther on see in a sketch of his life, ably served the young Province in many ways. Here, then, was his diary that had been slumbering for about fifty years in the cottage of a labouring man till an article of mine in the newspaper called it forth. There was something fascinating in handling that manuscript volume—the very book which Captain Sturt had handled some fifty-nine years ago, that he had carried from point to point in the Australian wilds, and in which he had written his daily experiences. The Journal was purchased by the Public Library authorities, and is now one of the most valuable of several historical relics. On it I shall partly draw as the Sturt expedition lives and moves before us.

. . . . . .

It is Saturday, August 10th, 1844. The New Settlement is not yet nine years old, and the city of Adelaide is still



Captain Charles Sturt.

in a very primitive condition. Many of the roads are not made; in some places they are in a deplorable condition. Within the bounds of the city are many vacant places. Some of these are fenced in, and on them crops are growing. Though it is Saturday, the busy day of the week, the shops are shut. The whole community is astir. What is the explanation? This is the day that Captain Sturt's party is going to start to explore the interior. In honour of the event the Government has proclaimed a public holiday. The heroic Eyre had failed to lift the veil that shrouded the interior of the Continent from view, and now the gallant Sturt is about to attempt to do so. On this day he is to be banqueted.

The feast is spread in Messrs. Stocks' "great warehouse," Grenfell Street. Many of the leading colonists are present and Major O'Halloran takes the chair. Addressing the company the chairman says: "We are assembled here in great number to do all the honour in our power to one whom we claim as our own—the discoverer of this Province, a settler of South Australia—one with whom we have been intimately associated and of whom we feel justly proud. He is now about to separate from us and to proceed on an expedition of at least as great importance as any that has hitherto been undertaken throughout New Holland. His courage, energy, and science will now again be brought into full action in endeavouring to penetrate into the interior of this vast Continent which as yet lies hid from the knowledge of civilized man. May Sturt, the selected of his country for so great and glorious an undertaking, be the fortunate individual reserved to solve the great problem, and by withdrawing the veil which has hitherto darkened our gaze gain fame's highest pinnacle."

The gallant explorer rises to reply:—"My Friends—It is a long time since I met an assembly such as this, and if the recollection of similar scenes for a moment subdues me I trust you will excuse it. I have brought my young son with me to the meeting that he may witness and bear in memory, when he rises to manhood, the scenes of this day. I love the Province, and since I have come to it have made many dear and valued friends from whom I am sorry to part. I will go forth inspirited by what I have seen, felt, and heard, and my men who are present will also remember it in the hour of danger. All that human effort or perseverance can do shall be done to accomplish the great undertaking in the ultimate success of which I have every confidence, and if I return I pray God that I might find all in prosperity and happiness."

The banquet is now over. In the front of the store a procession is arranged. Captain Sturt takes the lead, with Judge Cooper on one side and Major O'Halloran on the other. They are followed by more than 100 of the pioneer settlers mounted on horses. The loaded bullock drays with the provisions and camp necessities bring up the rear. Down King William Street the procession wends its way, past Government House, over the Torrens, and then on to the North Road. The farewell is said at "Dry Creek." How very suggestive. Before Captain Sturt returns he will meet with many a dry creek and will often be in need of water.

The exploring party consisted of:—

Captain Sturt (in command)
Jno. M. Stuart (draughtsman)
J. Lewis (mariner) [37]
L. Piesse (storekeeper)
J. Poole (second in command)
J. Browne (medical officer)
D. G. Brock (scientist)

ATTENDANTS.

D. Morgan	R. Flood
A. Turpin	J. Kirby
H. Foulkes	J. Sullivan
J. Cowley	J. Mack
G. Davenport	J. Jones

The expedition was provided with eleven horses, thirty bullocks, four drays, a spring cart, 200 sheep, and a supply of provisions for twelve months. The party also took a boat 22 ft. long. The explanation is that some were of opinion that in the interior of Australia there was an inland sea.

The party reached Moorunde, on the river Murray. Eyre had gone north, and finding no practicable route had traversed the west coast. Sturt set out in an easterly direction. At Moorunde he appointed the men to their respective positions and addressed them. He forbade any communication with the natives unless permission was given. A desire was expressed that they would work together in harmony, and Sturt asked them, as the journey was a perilous one, to seek the guidance and protection of Providence. After a few appropriate prayers had been read the expedition started. Sturt states how he watched it "with an anxiety that made him forgetful of everything else." How many of his men

[37] Father of the Hon. J. Lewis.

would be permitted to return to their homes? Would his own body be laid in the desert? Or would he be more successful in lifting the veil from the interior than Edward John Eyre had been?

For some distance the party followed the course of the Murray. Eyre (who was now at Moorunde as a special magistrate) travelled with them part of the way. Captain Sturt's attendant was a blackboy named Tampawang. For several days the party travelled up the Darling River till they reached Laidley Ponds. At Cawndilla they formed a camp, and Captain Sturt, Dr. Browne, two men, and a native named Topar made an incursion into the interior to the north-west. Captain Sturt's motive in so doing was to find a spot to which the whole party could move. As there were many natives around Cawndilla he was anxious to get his men away for fear of collision or misunderstanding. He discovered a waterhole, to which he gave the name of Parnari, and to this the whole party moved. After staying here for a few days they moved farther on to a pond of water. Here Captain Sturt had a tank of water fixed in a dray, and he and Dr. Browne, with some of the men, set out to penetrate still farther into the interior. After several days' exploration Flood (one of the party) was fortunate enough to discover a creek containing water. This Sturt called Flood's Creek. At this creek there was food as well as water, and here the whole party camped. They saw few natives. One day the black boy Tampawang told Sturt that there were three natives in the distance. Sturt, being anxious if possible to get information, set off in pursuit, and finally overtook them. The blacks—an old woman and two younger ones—were terrified. No information could be gained from them. Sturt tried to make them understand where his camp was, and that it was his wish that the other natives should visit it. Some time after he was surprised to see seven blacks bending their steps to the camp, "keeping their eyes on the ground" and looking as though they were "marching to execution." Said Sturt: "A group of the most miserable human beings I ever saw. Poor emaciated creatures all of them, and who no doubt thought the mandate they had received was from a superior being, and obeyed it in fear and in trembling." They sat down upon the ground and were hospitably entertained, but no information could be obtained from them.

After much wandering to and fro the party found a fine sheet of water. This place Sturt decided to make his depot. Here was a large party of quiet, inoffensive natives, who shunned the presence of the whites.

At this depot they were destined to wait six weary months. Said Captain Sturt: "It was not, however, until after we had run down every creek in the neighbourhood and had traversed the country in every direction that the truth flashed across my mind—that we were locked up in the desolate and heated region into which we had penetrated as effectively as if we had wintered at the pole. . . . Providence had, in its all-wise purposes, guided us to the only spot in that widespread desert where our wants could have been permanently supplied, but had there stayed our further progress into a region that almost appeared to be forbidden ground." Food and water were both here for the animals and men. Sturt called this Depot Glen. Here Dr. Browne had a serious illness, and the health of several of the men broke down. Sturt was also attacked with a fearful malady that proved to be scurvy.

The leader of the party felt convinced that in the interior there was an inland sea. He decided to make another attempt to pierce more deeply into the heart of the Continent. Taking with him his draughtsman (John McDouall Stuart) and two men, he again went forward. They came to a body of water. Here Sturt left the draughtsman and one of the men while he and a lad named Joseph tried to penetrate still farther north. They took with them a horse and cart laden with 69 gallons of water. Gradually the country became more inhospitable. Sturt says that they were "now in one of the most gloomy regions that man ever traversed. The stillness of death reigned around us; no living creature was to be heard. Sand and spinifex were the universal covering of the land." They returned to the water where they had left the other two men. After scouring the country in various directions the party came back to Glen Depot.

. . . . . .

They had been absent from Adelaide nine months when Mr. Poole, the second in command, who had been unwell for some time, became worse. "All his skin along the muscles turned black, and large pieces of spongy flesh hung from the roof of his mouth."

Pathetic indeed are Sturt's references in his manuscript diary to Mr. Poole's illness. On April 26th, 1845, he wrote:—

"I regret to find that it is Mr. Browne's opinion that Mr. Poole's symptoms are assuming the more violent character of scurvy, in which case I fear his illness will be exceedingly protracted, as we have no comforts for him, neither have we

the means of changing his diet. I pray that neither Mr. Browne nor myself (on whom the first symptoms still continue) may be similarly afflicted."

"April 28th.—I regret to say that Mr. Poole is worse. I am really concerned at the melancholy prospect he has before him."

"May 1st.—Mr. Poole has almost lost the use of his limbs, and he is daily getting worse."

"May 3rd.—Mr. Poole is now perfectly helpless, and the skin over his principal muscles is entirely discoloured and his sinews are slightly contracted. So long, however, as he is in a reclining posture or is stationary he feels no inconvenience; but when he moves or endeavours to stretch his limbs he is put to great pain. His mouth is also in a bad state."

In addition to this trouble there had not been any rain for several months. The water was decreasing; provisions were getting low. The animals had made the ground bare for miles round the depot. Said Sturt: "Had the drought continued for a month longer than it pleased the Almighty to terminate it the creek would have been as dry as the desert on either side." Toward the end of June they had been five months at the depot, and still the long drought had not broken up.

On July 12th, 1845, rain began to fall. "How thankful was I for this change," said Sturt, "and how earnestly did I pray that the Almighty would still further extend His mercy to us." All night the rain came down, and the next morning the creek had risen 5 in.

Sturt now decided that some of the party, with Mr. Poole, should return to Adelaide. A dray was specially fitted up for the sick man's convenience. The farewell between Sturt and his second in command was a most affecting one. "Poole wept bitterly."

On July 16th the depot was broken up, and Sturt and Dr. Browne (who had decided to remain with him), with the balance of the party, again went forth to penetrate into the interior. Before they finally left the locality one of the party returning to Adelaide came back to Glen Depot with the sad intelligence that Poole was dead.

In his manuscript diary Sturt wrote:—

"July 15th.—About 7 o'clock we were surprised by the sudden return of Joseph Cowley, who attended Mr. Poole as his servant, and who now came to announce to us that our unfortunate companion was no more. This sad intelligence has come like a thunderbolt on myself and Mr. Browne."

Apart from the sadness of the event the delay must have been very distressing to Captain Sturt. The long-looked-for rain had come, and after being confined at Glen Depot for about six months he must have been burning with desire to press on to the interior.

On July 16th he wrote in his fine, nervous hand:—

"We had a melancholy ride this morning to the home-returning drays, which we reached about noon. On an inspection of Mr. Poole's remains Mr. Browne has no doubt as to the immediate cause of his death. Some sudden internal rupture had carried him off. I have determined on depositing Mr. Poole's remains at the depot and once more to collect the party to be present at the funeral."

"July 17th.—Joseph arrived early to inform me that he had taken Mr. Poole's remains to the depot. At 12 I went over to the depot, at which place I read the funeral service over our departed comrade, who now sleeps in the desert. As we had not the material with which to make a coffin, I suggested that an open space should be left at the bottom of the grave to be boarded over, so as to prevent the earth from falling in. In this we laid Mr. Poole's remains, enveloped in a blanket and laid upon his mattress. I had his initials and the year cut deep in the tree under which he is buried, and I could not but feel that this painful ceremony was a fitting close to our detention on a spot on which our feelings had been so long and so painfully taxed."

The party returning to Adelaide were now put under the leadership of Mr. Piesse, while Sturt and those who remained with him pushed on to the north-west. A fresh depot was formed, to which they gave the name of Park Depot. From this point Sturt, accompanied by Browne, travelled toward the higher part of Lake Torrens, beyond Mount Hopeless. In doing so they surprised some natives on the top of a sand-hill. "Two of them saw us approaching and ran away; the third could not make his escape before we were upon him, but he was dreadfully alarmed. In order to allay his fears Mr. Browne dismounted and walked up to him. On this the poor fellow began to dance and to call out most vehemently, but finding that all he could do was to no purpose he sat down and began to cry. We managed, however, to pacify him. So much so that he mustered courage to follow us, with his companions, to our halting place. The wanderers of the desert had their bags full of jerboas (a small animal which they had captured on the hills). . . . Our friends cooked all they had in hot sand and devoured them entire,

fur, skin, entrails, and all, only breaking away the under-jaw and nipping off the tail with their teeth."

Having ascertained that to proceed to the north-west of Lake Torrens was not practicable, they retraced their steps to Park Depot. It was now August 10th, 1845. They had been absent from Adelaide twelve months.

After setting everything in order at the depot and leaving J. M. Stuart in charge Sturt, Browne, and three men again went forward into the interior, taking provisions with them for fifteen weeks. They started on August 14th, 1845.

By August 23rd they had travelled many miles into the interior. On that day the manuscript diary says: —

"We observed three natives collecting food in the open space who allowed Mr. Browne to approach them, and who had also dismounted for that purpose. They proved to be three women gathering and cleaning grass seeds. They were greatly alarmed, and when we asked where there was water (this was by signs), assured us most earnestly that there was plenty to the east, but none in the direction in which we were going. Pursuing our journey to the north-west, notwithstanding the incessant assurances of these poor creatures, we came upon their huts under a sandhill, opposite to a small and shallow pool of water. There were several children playing about in front of them who crept into these like so many puppies when they saw us. We kept wide of them, however, and, not wishing to annoy the natives, passed on in search of another pond; but not finding one we were obliged to turn back and encamp a little distance from their huts."

After travelling several days they came to what Sturt has called the "Stony Desert." Here in the distance they saw two natives, proving that this gloomy region was not uninhabited. Of this stony desert Sturt wrote in his diary: — "This plain is a most remarkable feature in the geology of the interior. It is about 10 miles in width . . . so thickly covered with stones as to entirely exclude vegetation. The stones are indurated quartz. They are of all sizes, though mostly small. That these stones were deposited on the plain and brought from the north-east during some violent change in the central parts of the Continent there can be no doubt."

The travellers came to a forest. Here was to be heard once more the music of birds. In the forest was a native village consisting of several huts, but the natives had fled. Stones for grinding seeds were lying about, also broken weapons of war and of the chase. Here they discovered a

well of good water. Said Sturt: "The fact of there being so large a well at this point—a well that must have required the united labours of a powerful tribe to complete—assured us that this distant part of the interior was not without inhabitants, but at the same time it plainly indicated that water must be scarce. Indeed, considering that the birds of the forest had powers of flight to go anywhere they would, I could not but regard it as an unfavourable sign that so many had collected here." Now the travellers passed over a plain rent and torn by solar heat, with chasms in it many feet deep, into which the horses' feet were likely to slip. They were now getting into still drier and more difficult country. Fortunately as they travelled still farther into the interior they again came to a pool with water.

Turning again to Sturt's manuscript diary we read:—

"August 31.—Towards the close of the day we traversed bare plains. The ground absolutely yawned under our horses, so large and deep were the fissures in it. It was to no purpose that we ran down every creek and searched the flats for water. The whole left by the late rains had disappeared, and our hitting upon any must be considered as most providential. . . . We overtook an old native woman and her daughter as we were crossing a ridge, who were shifting their camp. Mr. Browne dismounted and went to them. The reason of their staying so quietly was that the old lady was lame. They pointed to the north as the place where they were going, and we intended to have followed them, but they suddenly disappeared. Close to us there was a small puddle at which the natives appeared to have stopped until they could stop no longer—the dregs of one of those pools left by the late rains, in which a stick would stand upright. To this all kinds of birds resorted, a sad indication to us of the dry state of the country when even the denizens of the air were driven to such extremity."

Soon the question suggested itself to the mind of Sturt whether it was prudent to proceed farther. Dr. Browne was unwell. The horses were becoming exhausted. They were some distance from water. Said Sturt: "If I had advanced and had found water all would have been well for the time at least; if not there would have been the certain loss of all our horses, and I know not if one of us would ever have returned to the depot, then more than 400 miles distant, to tell the fate of his companions."

Turning again to his recently discovered diary we find this entry:—

"September 7th.—The more anxiously we look out for rain the less likely is any to fall. Our position, in truth, is one of very great anxiety. . . . We were now in a country in which I could not hope to find water; still I was reluctant to turn back. We pushed on for 10 miles, when I stopped the cart, as the horses would necessarily be without water for three days, and went over to a high round hill to examine the country before I ultimately decided on turning back. From this sandhill the view was very extensive, and was over such a region of sand that I felt assured any further effort in that direction, in the present dry state of the weather, would be worse than useless."

He decided to fall back upon a creek and to make this the basis of any further explorations. This was the only rational course to pursue, as they had come to a point at which both water and feed had failed. How reluctant he was to turn back the diary reveals. He was within 150 miles of the centre of the Continent. He tried to strike out in other directions, but circumstances were against him. On September 14th he wrote: —"On a review of our position, after taking the circumstances in which we are placed in all their bearings, I have determined on returning to the camp (Park Depot), from thence to try such other quarter as shall appear to open the widest door to success. This morning, in accordance with this resolution, we commenced our retreat, yet it is with a heavy step that I retire from even this dreary region without the accomplishment of the object for which the expedition was fitted out."

We shall not follow them in their backward route till they reached the Park Depot. This was on October 2nd, 1845. They had been absent from the depot seven weeks and had ridden 800 miles. They found Mr. Stuart and party well.

Sturt now decided that Dr. Browne should return to Adelaide with all the party but three, whilst he himself made another attempt to reach the centre. Dr. Browne was not willing to leave him. Browne was then left in charge of the depot, and the gallant explorer and his draughtsman (John McDouall Stuart), with two of the men, again bent their steps to the interior.

Referring to this new departure the diary says: —

"Left the depot with Mr. Stuart, Morgan, and Mack, taking four riding and four pack horses, with ten weeks' provisions. It is very doubtful how far I shall be able to go."

In this heroic attempt Captain Sturt again failed. He came to his old enemy, the Stony Desert, and was driven back from want of water.

The following extracts from his manuscript diary indicate his position:—

"October 20th.—From the summit of one of the ridges hereabouts we observed the Stony Desert extending all around us, flanked by high red sandhills, apparently covered with spinifex. Up to this point the country we had travelled was worse than any we had seen on our former journey. It was, indeed, a terrific region, and absolutely made me shudder as I gazed upon it. I conscientiously believe there is not a parallel to it on the earth's surface. Other deserts there are, but they present not the steel-shod surface of this desperate region."

"October 21st.—It was really painful to ride the horses over such terrible ground, unshod as they were. Their hoofs were almost to a level with the quick, and they limped at every step. I had now advanced 53 miles into this ironclad desert, and had passed over 38 miles of bare stones. My horses had been one night, as well as ourselves, without water, and we were 41 miles from the nearest of which we knew. Immediately in front of us there rose a succession of ranges similar to that on which we stood as far as the eye could reach. Yet I sat for more than an hour on that burning hill before I could make up my mind to turn back, and I am free to observe that it was some unknown influence—not my own inclination—that absolutely determined me to do so. I accordingly descended the hill and retraced my steps to the place in which we had slept. I stopped there for an hour and a half to let the horses feed, and then pushed on for water . . . and halted at an hour and a half after sunset about 12 miles short of it. My horses suffered greatly and I lost one, which I was obliged to leave in a dying state."

"October 23rd.—Few men could have laid themselves down to rest (if that might be called rest which was only a temporary cessation from exposure and fatigue) with more embarrassed and more disappointed feelings than I did last night. I had once again been forced back more than 40 miles from the heartless and impracticable desert I had entered, and I really knew not which way to turn. I was unwilling to cede an inch of ground, yet I knew not in what direction I should soonest surmount the steel-clad region around me. I stood, as it were, in the centre of the shivered fragments of some mountain chain. . . . There was no visible termination to that dark and stony region. To whichever quarter I turned the same gloomy view presented itself. Yet I would not have turned from even such a scene as that

if I had not felt convinced that my horses were not equal to the task, and that in pushing forward I should only sacrifice my own life and the lives of those who were with me."

"Arrived at a temporary place of safety I thought I might find a narrow passage across the desert to the N.E. I determined on riding a few miles in that direction to ascertain if there were any hope for me before I finally retreated across the remainder of the stony plains."

The diary shows that there was no hope. The inevitable had to be accepted.

"The ground was more thickly covered than ever with the pointed fragments of rocks. . . . They appeared to have been dashed against the ground and firmly embedded in it when the surface was soft. I had advanced from 10 to 12 miles, and it had been painful to ride the horses on such ground. Splinters from 1 to 2 in. flew from their hoofs as they struck them against the fragments of rocks they could not avoid. . . . I found, therefore, that I had insurmountable difficulties to contend against, and I made up my mind to turn back. It is a remarkable fact, and one that strongly proves the dry and uninhabitable state of the country, on the line on which we had been moving we had not seen a living creature, either beast or bird, if I except the seafowl. The deathlike stillness of these solitudes is awful and oppressive. . . . When I descended into the interior I expected to find to a certain distance a sandy desert, but I had every hope that it would terminate in an inland sea. I was not wrong in the general impression, but I had no idea of such a desert as that which really exists, the very geological formation of which (if I may use the expression) gives the clearest evidence that the whole was once under water, and that some tremendous current that could only be caused by a great convulsion has left its effects thus prominently stamped on its surface."

The recently discovered diary from which we have so largely quoted shows that Sturt made efforts to find success in all directions, but they were fruitless. Finally the party retraced their steps to the depot.

On this trip "Cooper's Creek" was discovered, and was so named by Sturt in honour of the pioneer judge of the New Settlement.

When they arrived at Park Depot (also named "Grey Fort" in honour of Governor Grey) they found that it had been abandoned. A letter had been left behind informing Sturt that the men were ill through the water at the creek becoming impure, and they had gone back to the first depot

(Glen Depot). Soon Sturt and Browne again had the joy of meeting each other, and the party started on its homeward way. They reached Cawndilla in safety, where Sturt received news from Adelaide. He travelled on to Moorunde. Here a carriage was in waiting to convey him to Adelaide. On January 19th, 1846, he was once more in the primitive settlement with his wife and family.

. . . . . .

Now we sit down at another banquet. It is spread in the Freemasons' Tavern. About 256 guests are present. Major O'Halloran again occupies the chair. Among the speakers are Judge Cooper, John Morphett, Edward Stephens, and James Hurtle Fisher. In his reply Captain Sturt said: "They had sent him forth to the desert with every good wish, and they now met to greet him after his vain struggle with as much warmth as if the most brilliant success had attended his efforts. Had he discovered a rich country he might have expected this, but the case had been very different. If he had penetrated far into the north it was only to expose its barrenness. He had indeed travelled through an awful desert, and had passed no hour since he left the Darling which was not one of anxiety, for they all knew that in this country there was no surface water, and it was to Providence more than to his own prudence that he owed his safety. Experience, indeed, had assisted him, or he should not have had the pleasure that he now enjoyed. It was not a little that had driven him back when he was within so very short a distance of the point which he would have given almost his life to have gained. He would that it had been his lot to have found a better country, but when it did not exist it was impossible to find it. But, geographically speaking, as he had penetrated from latitude 30 degrees to the verge of the tropics there could be but little doubt now entertained that the desert extended over what would comprehend the whole of the interior. At all events, he had been the pioneer and might be useful to others."

Dr. J. Harris Browne, of the Sturt Expedition, deserves special mention. His loyalty to his leader should be put on permanent record. Of him the late John Bagot said:—"He was one of the most high-souled gentlemen that we have had in South Australia; a most practical and well-informed man, but modest withal, and therefore not so publicly known as many far less worthy men." Dr. Browne's fault (if I may term it such) was that he shrank too much from publicity. He and his brother (William J. Browne) were enterprising

pioneers in the pastoral industry in the early days and colonists of a fine type. "Booboorowie" was their most important property. Dr. Browne outlived all the members of the gallant Sturt party. He saw the third generation of South Australians, and died in England January, 1904, at a great age.

The Darke Expedition.

About the same time as Captain Sturt embarked upon his central expedition another party was fitted out to open up the country in the north-west. In this expedition John Bentham Neales (to whom further reference will be made) took a great interest. His was the organizing spirit. Of Mr. Darke it is said that he was a man "of great courage and scientific attainments, with a large colonial experience as an explorer and surveyor." Tents, provisions, ammunition, etc., were shipped to Port Lincoln. This was the starting point. The party left in August, 1844. They had to pass over some of the ground that Edward John Eyre, two or three years before, had trodden. They reached a point nearly 300 miles to the north of Port Lincoln. On their return journey they met with three natives, and intimated by signs that they wanted water. The blacks went to a native well and returned bringing some water. They remained at the camp all night. In the morning they were joined by other natives, who conducted the party to a water spring, and also offered them some of their food, consisting of roots and lizards. In return for these Mr. Darke gave them sugar and such other articles as he could spare. The blacks continued with the party till about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when they went away, but returned the following morning. After finishing his breakfast Mr. Darke went toward the scrub in a direction opposite to where the blacks were sitting, and had scarcely reached the spot when he found many blacks in ambush. Having left his gun behind and being otherwise defenceless, he could only give an alarm to his comrades in the tent. Mr. Theakstone immediately ran to his assistance with gun in hand, and saw a native in the act of spearing Mr. Darke. Mr. Theakstone fired, but missed his assailant, who, with others, fled. Mr. Darke was transfixed by three spears. He suffered much for two days, when mortification set in and in about two hours terminated his life. The unfortunate leader met his end bravely, speaking of the expedition and making his dying requests with great calmness. His comrades carried his remains for about 30 miles, and then dug a deep grave in the midst of a grassy plain, in

which the body was deposited. In 1909 the grave was discovered and the skeleton found in a remarkable state of preservation. The South Australian Government has now placed a headstone on the grave, surrounded by an iron railing.

The Horrocks Expedition.

John A. Horrocks, the leader of this expedition, was a young man of splendid physique, who had had some experience in the work of exploration. In July, 1846, he and a party set out to penetrate the interior. Undeterred by the tragic experiences of Eyre, his aim was to cross the head of Spencer's Gulf and then travel in the direction of Western Australia. Horrocks was better prepared for the journey than Eyre. As a guide he had the experiences of the latter explorer, and was provided with a camel—the only one in the colony. He also took with him a flock of goats. At Mount Remarkable he was informed by the natives that there was a pass across the range in the direction of what is now known as Port Augusta. The expedition went through the pass and made for Depot Creek, where Eyre had camped some five years before. At Depot Creek it was decided that a part of the company should strike out in a north-westerly direction. Horrocks, S. T. Gill (the artist of the expedition), and Kilroy formed the party. They reached a lake called by Horrocks Lake Gill, now known as Lake Dutton. Here a tragic circumstance transpired. Horrocks wished to shoot a bird to add to the collection they were making. Unfortunately while he was handling the gun the charge exploded, wounding him in the face. The wound was a serious one, and the party had to retrace their steps. After suffering great pain Horrocks reached his home at Penwortham, and passed away three days after his arrival. The famous "Horrocks Pass" will ever keep him in memory. He was young in years, and if his life had been spared no doubt he would have been one of the most famous of Australian explorers.

Other and Later Expeditions.

In 1856 the Government voted £1,000 as a bonus for the discovery of a payable goldfield. Mr. Herschel Babbage and a party set out in search of gold. The country in the neighbourhood of Tanunda Creek, the Rhine, the head of the Gawler River, Truro, and the Murray was examined. Mr. Babbage then proceeded northward. Though he failed to discover a goldfield he found a large creek, to which he gave the name of "MacDonnell Creek," as a compliment to the Gover-

nor. He also found a long reach of water, which he named "Blanchewater," as a compliment to Lady Blanche MacDonnell.

Following on Mr. Babbage's discoveries Mr. Goyder was sent out with a survey party. He was to triangulate the country between Mount Serle and Lake Torrens. As the season was favourable, he pushed on to the neighbourhood of Lake Torrens, where he found an extensive body of fresh water, with apparently fertile wooded islands, and on the opposite shore what appeared to be high and rich country. Mr. Goyder was obliged to return from the margin of the lake without crossing it. His observations of the country beyond were confined to a distant vision.

Captain Freeling (Surveyor-General) set out to test the accuracy of Mr. Goyder's discoveries. He found that his predecessor was apparently mistaken. Lake Torrens was a body of salt water surrounded by a veritable bog. After the most persistent attempts it was found to be impossible to launch a boat upon it. Captain Freeling saw the country under different conditions from those that obtained when Mr. Goyder visited it; this partly accounts for the difference between the two reports. A wet or a dry season makes a marvellous change in the appearance of the interior.

Later on the Government offered a bonus for the exploration of the north-western interior. An expedition was entrusted to Mr. Stephen Hack. He was to proceed with his party to Port Lincoln by sea, to travel to Streaky Bay, then to strike out in a northerly direction. Mr. Hack was away nearly five months, and reported that he had found some good country for pastoral purposes.

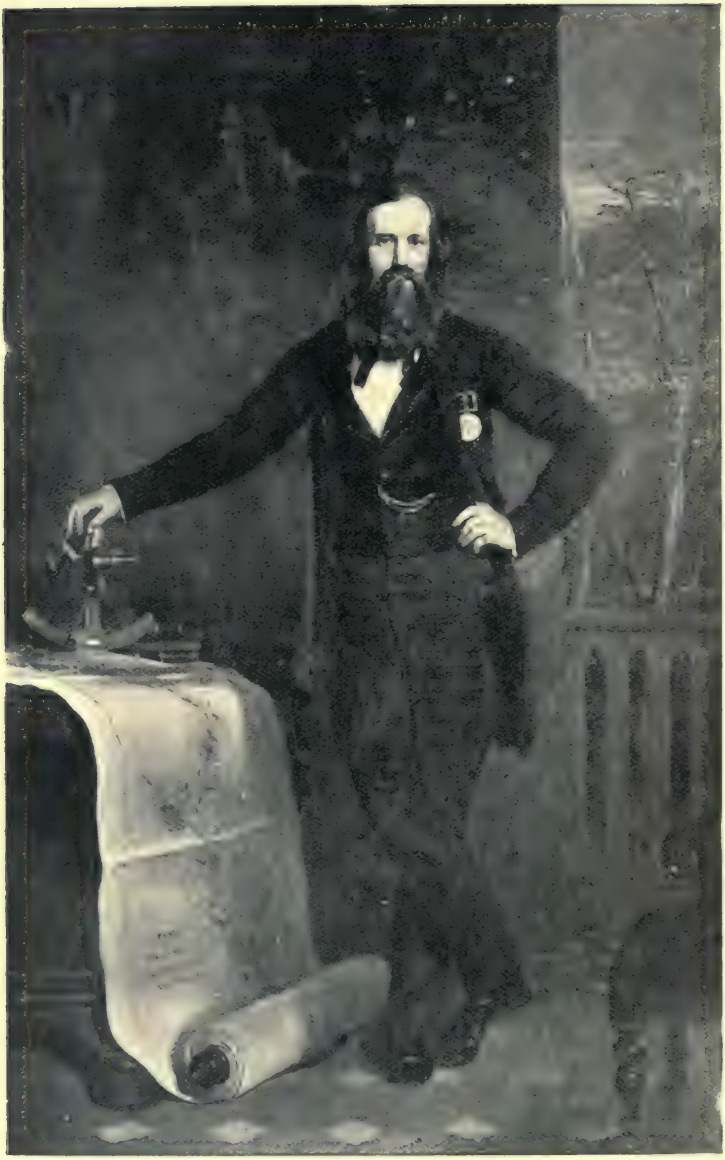
In the early part of 1857 Mr. Babbage was put in charge of an expedition to explore the country round Lake Torrens. A public breakfast was tendered him. As the expedition did not make what was considered to be satisfactory progress Mr. Babbage was recalled and Major Warburton put in his place. A lot of money was spent with little real advantage to the colony.

It was while on the expedition above recorded that Mr. Babbage found the dead body of W. Coulthard, an early settler, who apparently had a passion for exploration. Near the body was found a tin canteen on which (in the agony of death) several words had been scratched, among others the following: "Bleeding Pomp to leive on his blood. . . . My tung is stiking to my mouth, and I see what I have rote, and know this is the last time I may have of expressing feel-

ing. Blind (?) altho feeling exce—for want of water. My ey dazels. My tung burn. I can see no way. God help." The tragedy of the sad event was intensified by the fact that not far from the dying man was a waterhole with a good supply of water, of which the poor fellow was quite unconscious.

In 1861 John McKinlay led a party into the interior to search for Burke and Wills. Reference will be made to this in the chapter "Sketches of Pioneer Explorers."

THE VEIL LIFTED.



JOHN MCDOUALL STUART.

CHAPTER XX.

THE VEIL LIFTED.

We have seen the heroic attempts made by Edward John Eyre and Captain Charles Sturt to penetrate the interior of the Australian Continent. The difficulties promised to be insuperable. It seemed as though the interior contained some grim secret that cosmic forces and natural conditions were bent on keeping. One explorer after another faced the north with hope, and after a desperate struggle with adverse circumstances came back in despair. It was John McDouall Stuart who finally triumphed over all difficulties and dangers and wrung from the inhospitable interior its secret. He had been with Captain Sturt in his attempts to reach the centre of the Continent, his position in the party being that of draughtsman. Some time after the Sturt Expedition was disbanded Stuart was employed by Messrs. Chambers and Finke [38] in searching for new country suitable for pasturage and in surveying runs.

In 1858 Stuart travelled in the direction of Lake Torrens and made a detour westward, discovering and naming Mount Finke. Of this landmark and the country surrounding it he wrote:—"I got on the lower spurs of Mount Finke to see what was before me. The prospect was gloomy in the extreme. I could see a long distance, but nothing met the eye save a dense scrub as black and dismal as midnight. . . . A fearful country. . . . After leaving the mount we have a thick mallee and mulga scrub to go through, with spinifex. In the last 8 miles we have not seen a mouthful for the horses to eat, and not a drop of water. It is even worse than Captain Sturt's desert." Later

[38] These men were enterprising colonists who deserve special mention. In the last letter received by me from Edward Bate Scott, written shortly before his death, he said: "James Chambers was a livery-stable keeper and horse-dealer, dating from the earliest days of the colony, and at one time an extensive mail contractor. His brother (John Chambers) was a dairy farmer at Cherry Gardens. Subsequently John Chambers took up Lake Bonney run as a cattle and sheep station, and I believe that James and John Chambers were partners. Finke was a close friend. James and John Chambers, with Finke, spared no expense to start Stuart on his explorations." Stuart named some points of geographical interest after these men, *e.g.*, the Finke River and Chambers' Creek and Pillar.

on he wrote:—"To-day's few miles have been through the same dreary, dreadful, dismal desert of heavy sandhills and spinifex, with mallee very dense, scarcely a mouthful for the horses to eat. When will it all end?" Stuart was now making for Fowler's Bay, on the West Coast, where Edward John Eyre had been some years before. Not able to reach Fowler's Bay he shaped his course for Streaky Bay, where a few immigrants had settled.

The party suffered from want of food and water. Stuart found the kangaroo mice and the plant commonly called "pig's-face" *(Mesembryanthemum)* very useful. In his Journal he wrote:—"For upwards of a month we have been existing upon a little flour-cake daily, without animal food. Since we commenced the journey all the animal food we have been able to obtain has been four wallabies, one opossum, one small duck, one pigeon, and latterly a few kangaroo mice. These are elegant little animals, about 4 in. in length, and resemble the kangaroo in shape, with a long tail terminating in a sort of brush. Their habitations are of a conical form, built with twigs and rotten wood, about 6 ft. in diameter at the base and rising to a height of 3 or 4 ft. When the natives discover one of these nests they surround it, treading firmly round the base in order to secure any outlet. Then they remove the top of the cone, and as the mice endeavour to escape they kill them with their waddies. . . . We have been forced to boil the tops of the pig's-face to satisfy the wants of nature. Being short of water we boiled them in their own juice. . . . Yesterday we obtained a few sow thistles, which we boiled and found to be very good."

Eventually Stuart reached Mr. Gibson's station, Streaky Bay, where he and his companion Forster were kindly entertained. This was one of the most arduous of his explorations. In his Journal he wrote: "Both Forster and myself felt very unwell, especially Forster, who is very bad. . . . I am suffering chiefly from weakness and a very severe pain between the shoulders. It is a dreadful pain, and nearly incapacitated me from sitting in the saddle. I thought that I should not have been able to reach here."

A Second Expedition Northward.

In 1859 Stuart was again exploring the northern interior. On this trip he discovered and named several points of geographical interest. Hergott Springs (well known to-day) were discovered by one of his party named Hergott. Writing in his Journal Stuart said: "Hergott did not return until

noon to-day. . . . He states that he has found a batch of springs 3 miles on this side of the ponds, with abundance of water. They are twelve in number."

Stuart was now in the vicinity of what at times is a vast quagmire, Lake Eyre. He found some good country and a large waterhole containing plenty of water. Of the country round Chambers' Creek, which he had discovered and named, he wrote: "I intend to move to-day to the large waterhole westward, where I first struck the creek. About 14 miles from last night's camp the chain of large waterholes commences. . . . They are indeed most splendid waterholes—long ponds; they are nearly one continuous sheet of water, and the scenery is beautiful." Travelling farther into the interior of the Continent Stuart came to Mount Hamilton and to Beresford's Springs. Of the country in this direction he wrote: "The country travelled over to-day has been very well grassed, with saltbush. Take it altogether, I have not seen better runs in the colony, and in the driest summer the furthest distance from water will not be above 5 miles at the most, but the feed is so abundant that they would not require to go so far. On that account they will feed double and treble the number of stock that the runs down the country do."

It was information like this that the pioneer immigrants needed. They were intensely anxious to know whether or not the unexplored interior of the land of their adoption was suitable for pastoral purposes. Stuart slowly but surely was helping to solve the problem. All was not stones, sand, and spinifex—an arid and waterless region.

Later on in his daily Journal he wrote: "Discovered another batch of springs, with plenty of water running from them. There are about eight or nine of them very good. . . . I have named them Elizabeth Springs. . . . They are really remarkable springs—such a height above the level of the plain. . . . From whence do they derive their supply of water to cause them to rise to such a height? This is another strange feature of the mysterious interior of Australia."

As a rule Stuart named striking natural features after prominent pioneers whose history is recorded in these pages *e.g.*, "Davenport Creek," "Hawker Springs," "Blyth Creek," "Hanson Range," "Mount Younghusband," "Mount Kingston," "Freeling Springs," "Mount O'Halloran," "Neales' Creek," "Mount Dutton." On this trip Stuart not only discovered some good country, but came to the conclusion that it would be possible to cross the Continent.

The Centre of the Continent Reached.

In 1859 the South Australian Legislative Council voted £2,000 as a bonus to the explorer who should first cross the Australian Continent. The first man to make the attempt was Alexander Tolmer, with a party of men and several horses. They left Adelaide in September and returned toward the end of November, with the loss of nine horses. The attempt was a failure, the party being unable to agree. Meanwhile John McDouall Stuart, in conjunction with Messrs. Chambers and Finke, made preparations for another incursion into the forbidden interior. On this trip he discovered and named the Finke River, after William Finke, who had been one of his supporters in his various explorations. He also discovered a remarkable pillar, which he named Chambers' Pillar, in honour of his friend and supporter James Chambers. Other points of interest were named after men whose names repeatedly appear in this volume:—"Waterhouse Range," "MacDonnell Range," after His Excellency Sir Richard MacDonnell: "Mount Hay," "Strangways' Range," "Mount Freeling," "Reynolds' Range," "Stirling Creek," "Mount Gwynne." "Mount Mann," so called after the first Advocate-General, Charles Mann: "Mount Morphett," "Forster Range," "Bonney's Creek," "Short Range," "Baker Creek," "Davenport Range."

It was on this trip that he succeeded in reaching the centre of the Continent. In his Journal he wrote: "Sunday, April 22nd, 1860.—To-day I find, from my observations of the sun, that I am now camped in the centre of Australia. I have marked a tree and planted the British flag there. There is a high mount about 2½ miles to the north-north-east. I wish it had been in the centre; but on it to-morrow I will raise a cone of stones and plant the flag there, and name it 'Central Mount Stuart.'" On the next day this was done. A large mound of stones was raised, in the centre of which was placed a pole with the British flag nailed to it. Near the top of the mound a bottle was placed containing a slip of paper on which were written the names of the party.[39] Stuart then says:—"We gave three hearty cheers for the flag, the emblem of civil and religious liberty, and may it be a sign to the natives that the dawn of liberty, civilization, and Christianity is about to break upon them." Stuart had solved the problem as far as the centre of the Australian Continent

[39] The slip of paper was discovered afterwards by a Government officer, who was making preparations for the laying of the Overland Telegraph Line. It is now in the Public Library, Adelaide, where, with other valuable historical relics, it may be seen.

was concerned—that it was not a desert nor, as Captain Sturt supposed, an inland sea.

William P. Auld (one of the survivors of the Stuart party) has informed me that Stuart really named the mount, in the centre of the Continent, "Central Mount Sturt," in honour of his old chief, Captain Charles Sturt.

On this expedition Stuart made heroic attempts to cross the Continent, but could not succeed. Writing in his Journal he said: "I wish that my horses had had water last night or yesterday. They seem to be very much in want of it. I must devote the rest of the day to a search for it. . . . Searched all around, but can find no water. . . . The day is intensely hot, and my horses cannot stand two more nights without water. Would that they had more endurance! It is dreadful to have to return back almost at the threshold of success. I cannot be far from the dip of the country to the Gulf"—*i.e.*, the Gulf of Carpentaria, to reach which would have been to cross the Continent. Stuart further wrote:—"I would fain try the plain to the south, but I dare not risk the loss of more horses."

Stuart had to pay the penalty for his heroic devotion. He was attacked with the dreadful disease scurvy. Said he: "I have again had another dreadful night of suffering. I had, however, about two hours' sleep, which, as it was the first sleep that I have had for the last three nights, was a great boon. This morning I observe that the muscles of my limbs are changing from yellow-green to black; my mouth is getting worse, and it is with difficulty that I can swallow anything. I am determined not to give in. I shall move about as long as I am able."

Stuart was not the only one who suffered on this trip. His faithful associate Kekwick was also afflicted. Stuart wrote: "Kekwick was unwell last night, but I cannot stop on his account. . . . Kekwick is still very ill. Poor fellow, he is suffering much. I have not shown him much pity or I should have the other giving in altogether. I hope and trust that he will soon be better again, and that to-morrow's rest may do him good. He has been a most valuable man to me."

Stuart's diary was brightened by frequent references to the natives. In going through some scrub they disturbed some natives, but could only see children. "One, a little fellow about seven years old, was cleaning some grass seeds in a wurley, with a child who could just walk. The moment he saw us he jumped up and, seizing his father's spear, took

the child by the hand and walked off out of our way. It was quite pleasing to see the bold spirit of the little fellow."

Stuart returned to Adelaide from the trip with his two companions on Sunday, October 7th, 1860. In a letter to his friend and patron, Mr. Chambers, describing the expedition, he said: "I am sorry to say that I have not been able to make the north-west coast (that is, to cross the Continent). The difficulties have been more than I was able to overcome. After making the centre I was assailed by that dreadful disease, the scurvy, which completely prostrated me. Still I persevered, and endeavoured to reach the mouth of the Victoria River, on a north-west course, but was obliged to relinquish the attempt three separate times through want of water. . . . I was forced to go back to the centre. Three miles to the north of the centre is a high hill, on which I planted the flag and named it Central Mount Stuart. I thought I might get an opening that would lead me to the north-west of Gem and Spinifex Plain. . . . I was obliged to return from want of water. I had the misfortune to lose three horses from want of water. We were 111 hours without a drop of water, under a burning hot sun. After this journey I gave up all hope of making the Victoria (river), and tried for the Gulf of Carpentaria. Not a drop of water could we find. My horses were without water two days and a night, and were in such a weak state that I was afraid to risk their being without water any longer in case I should lose the lot."

From his letter we gather that he made yet another attempt in the direction of crossing the Continent, but the inhospitable nature of the country again prevented him from so doing. He was now attacked by natives. The letter continues:—"Three times they came rushing to the attack, but were repulsed. They also endeavoured to surround us and cut us off from the horses, but that I prevented. They were the first natives I encountered, and were in appearance tall, powerful, muscular men; bold, daring, and courageous, not at all frightened either by us or the horses, but rushing boldly to the charge. The moment we entered the scrub they were upon us. Every bush seemed to have hidden a man, and upward of thirty attacked us in the front, and how many more there were endeavouring to surround us and cut us off from our packhorses I cannot tell. . . . They set fire to the grass all round, and the shouting and yelling from numerous voices was most fearful. It was with difficulty that we could restrain the horses from bolting away." Stuart and his party managed to keep them at bay with their guns. The

party then fell back upon a long open plain. "During the night," the leader in his letter says, "I took into consideration the position in which I was then placed—my horses tired and weary; three of them being unable to be longer than one night without water; the men complaining six weeks before this of being so weak from want of suitable food that they were unable to perform their duty. Their movements were more those of men 100 years old than young men of twenty-five years, myself being so unwell that I was unable to sit in the saddle all day without suffering the most excruciating pain; our provisions scarcely sufficient to carry us back, and now in the midst of hostile natives, who were wily, bold, and daring. If I proceeded I should leave enemies behind, and in all probability meet with enemies in front. Thus I would have to fight my way to the coast and back again. To do that with only two men and myself, and having six packhorses to look after, would be utterly impossible. I therefore made up my mind, with great reluctance, to return."

The two men with Stuart were Kekwick and Head. Although the gallant explorer did not succeed on this occasion in crossing the Continent, he had obtained a better knowledge of the country, had reached the centre of the Continent, and had prepared the way for further efforts in the same direction.

The Press in the growing City of Adelaide, speaking of this expedition, said: "We need not dwell on the heroism of the gallant men to whom we are indebted for all this satisfactory knowledge. Their praise is on every tongue. No higher compliment can be paid to them than that implied in the prompt resolution of the Parliament to send them once again, and quickly, into the no longer untrodden wilderness of the interior."

On the return of Stuart and his two men from the trip a public breakfast was laid in their honour in White's Rooms, Adelaide. About 400 gentlemen were present. The chair was occupied by the Commissioner of Crown Lands (John T. Bagot). He was supported on his right by the Governor-in-Chief (Sir Richard MacDonnell). In the course of a long and able address the Governor said: "I have still another very gratifying duty to perform. I have to ask Mr. Stuart, on the part of the Hon. John Morphett, to accept this rifle as a trusty weapon, not of defiance but of defence. It is the only rifle of the kind that has reached South Australia. I understand that another weapon is to be presented to you, sir. I hope that you will be able to traverse the Continent without having to use it against any human being. . . .

The best proof of your courage is to be found in your judicious forbearance on so many previous occasions, and your avoidance of all unnecessary collision with the natives." Sir James Hurtle Fisher also presented a rifle subscribed for by a hundred fellow-colonists.

Another Attempt to Cross the Continent.

In November, 1860, Stuart left on another expedition into the interior. On this occasion he got beyond the centre and reached the locality named by him Sturt's Plains. Although he had thus far succeeded in accomplishing his object, he was, as we shall see, again driven back. Writing in his Journal after reaching Sturt's Plains, he said: "Before leaving the Ponds I shall try once more to the westward. . . . Started with Thring, Woodforde, and Wall, nine horses, and fourteen days' provision. . . . At 14 miles gained the top of a sand rise. . . . From here the country seems to be a dense forest. I am afraid this will be another hopeless journey. . . . I shall try a little further on to-morrow. . . . Took Thring with me, and proceeded on the same course to see if I could get through the horrid forest and scrub, or meet with a change of country, or find some water. . . . At 11 miles the scrub became so dense that it was nearly impenetrable. The horses would not face it. I saw that it was hopeless to force through any further. Not a drop of water have we seen. I therefore returned to where I left Woodforde and Wall. This is the third long journey by which I have tried to make the Victoria River (which would probably mean the crossing of the Continent) in this latitude, but have been driven back every time by the same description of country and want of water. I would have proceeded further, but my horses are unable to do it. Thus ends my hope of reaching the Victoria in this latitude, which is a great disappointment. . . . To-day I shall move the camp to the easternmost part of Newcastle Waters, and shall try if I can cross Sturt's Plains and reach the Gulf of Carpentaria (which would be to cross the Continent). . . . We are reduced to 4 lb. of flour and 1 lb. of dried meat per man each week . . . but I can leave nothing untried where there is the least shadow of gaining the desired object." Again he was forced to turn back. However, he was determined to try once more. Sitting down in the wilds of Australia with a sad heart, and writing in his Journal, Stuart said: "This is very disheartening work. I shall proceed to the south and try once more to round that horrid western forest; it is now my only hope. If that fail I

shall have to return." Again he was defeated. Later on he wrote: "Tomkinson's Creek—Shoeing horses and preparing for another start. I shall try once more to make the Gulf of Carpentaria from this." The attempt was made, but without success. Said he: "No appearance of water. It is hopeless to proceed further. It will only be rendering my return more difficult by reducing the strength of my horses, without the slightest hope of success." But Stuart could not accept defeat. He would sacrifice his life to secure his objective, *i.e.*, to cross the Australian Continent. Later on he wrote that before he retraced his steps to Adelaide he would make one more attempt to reach the Victoria River. Said he: "I am very unwilling to return without trying all that is in my power." So Stuart made another detour to accomplish his purpose, but after travelling several miles in the face of great difficulties he was again beaten back. Said he: "We got into dense scrub. . . . I felt that there was not the slightest hope of obtaining water. It would be hopeless to continue such sandy country, as it can never hold water on the surface. . . . The travelling has been heavy, tearing through thick scrub. I must now give up all hope of reaching the Victoria, and am unwillingly forced to return. . . . We are all nearly naked; the scrub has been so severe on our clothes. Our boots are also gone. It is with great reluctance that I am forced to return without a further trial. . . . I only wish I had sufficient (provisions) to carry me on until the rain will fall in next March. I think I would be able to make both the Victoria and the Gulf of Carpentaria. . . . It certainly is a great disappointment to me not to be able to get through, but I believe that I have left nothing untried that was within my power."

John McDouall Stuart and party returned to Adelaide discouraged but not yet defeated. He offered to make another attempt to cross the Continent.

Success—The Continent Crossed.

The South Australian Parliament favoured Stuart's further ofier. A party was formed, consisting of the following:

John McDouall Stuart, leader.
William Darton Kekwick, second officer.
Francis William Thring, third officer.
William Patrick Auld, assistant.
Frederick George Waterhouse, naturalist.
Stephen King, John Billiatt, James Frew, Heath Nash, and John McGorrey.

Before starting Mr. Stuart met with a nasty accident. One of the horses reared and struck him on the temple with its fore foot, rendering him insensible. It then sprang forward and placed one of its hind feet in Stuart's right hand, doing it considerable injury.

The party reached the centre of the Continent in safety, and thence travelled on to Sturt's Plains. It was here that Stuart's progress had been previously arrested. In his Journal he now wrote: "I have made many twistings and turnings, but my general course is north-west for 10 miles." He met with the same difficulties as confronted him on his former trip—dense forests and want of water—but he was better prepared to meet them. Fortunately he came on some fine ponds of water about 1½ miles long, 20 ft. broad, and 3½ ft. deep. Said he: "I examined them on both sides to see if they would do for a permanent camp for the party. . . . I think I may depend on the water lasting two months, without any more rain. I shall camp here to-night, and try another day to the westward to make the Victoria. I name these ponds after John Howell, Esq., of Adelaide."

From "Howell's Ponds" he made various attempts to go forward. He wrote: "Leaving Mr. Kekwick in charge of the party, I started with Thring and Frew. . . . I have skirted the border of the forest land in the hope of finding water, but am disappointed. I have not seen water since I started. There are a great many different kinds of birds about and native smokes all round. I have searched every place where I thought there was the least chance of finding water, but without success. . . . With such hot weather as this I dare not attempt to make the Victoria. I must therefore return to the camp."

Various other attempts were made to achieve his purpose. One day in his endeavour to forge ahead Stuart was delighted by the discovery of a fine chain of waterholes. These he termed "King's Ponds," after one of his attendants. Previous to this he had discovered another waterhole, which he named "Frew's Waterhole," after another member of his party. Later on, writing from King's Ponds, Stuart said: "Leaving Mr. Kekwick in charge of the party, I started with King, Thring, and Auld on a northern course. . . . At a little more than a mile struck another watercourse running towards the north. Followed it, and about 2½ miles came upon some ponds of water." These he named "Auld's Ponds," after another of his assistants. These discoveries were of great value. They enabled Stuart slowly but surely to forge ahead. Farther on he found another

supply of water in pools, which he named "McGorrey's Ponds," after his blacksmith. Gradually he was overcoming his difficulties and getting nearly across the Continent. The nature of the country was changing. Writing in his Journal he said: "The country opened and became splendidly grassed." Here he also found gum and other trees. These were all indications that he was getting into better country. Fortune again favoured Stuart; he came upon a fine body of water, which he named "Daly Waters," in honour of Sir Dominick Daly, who had taken the place of Sir Richard MacDonnell as Governor of South Australia. Having marked out his course in advance and found that it was safe for all the party to proceed, he followed his tracks back to Auld's Ponds, and then back to the depot at Howell's Ponds, to bring the whole party on to Daly Waters. This was not an easy matter, but Stuart was a splendid bushman. Turning to his Journal we find this entry: "This would be a fearful country for anyone to be lost in, as there is nothing to guide, and one cannot see more than 300 yards around, the gum-trees are so thick, and the small belts of lance-wood make it very deceptive. Should anyone be so unfortunate as to be lost it would be quite impossible to find them again."

The depot was now removed to Daly Waters. In the Journal we now find this entry: "I feel this heavy work much more than I did the journey last year; so much of it is beginning to tell upon me. I feel my capability of endurance beginning to give way." No wonder! For years Stuart had been trying to wring from the interior its secrets. In the wilds of Australia, never trodden by the foot of white man, he had faced inhospitable surroundings that would have completely discomfited and daunted ordinary men. In addition to this the responsibility of each expedition devolved upon him. He had to keep the members of the party in good humour; to a very large extent he was responsible for their unity and safety. The mental as well as the physical strain must have been severe. He now began to "feel" his way forward from Daly Waters. Fortunately he found some more waterholes, to which he gave the name of "Purdie's Ponds," in honour of Dr. Purdie, of Edinburgh. He now removed his depot to this locality. Gradually he was making headway. The next helpful discovery was a creek, to which he gave the name of "Strangways," after the Hon. H. B. T. Strangways, Commissioner of Crown Lands in South Australia. Next he removed his camp another stage forward, and several interesting and useful discoveries were made in the form of fish for food, cane, and a beautiful new specimen

of water lily. The country over which Stuart was now travelling was well grassed, especially near the river. He was in what is known as the Northern Territory. A number of natives were seen, the country apparently being well populated. Stuart wrote: "Struck a large sheet of clear deep water on which were a number of natives with their lubras [40] and children. They set up a fearful yelling and squalling, and ran off as fast as they could." Stuart had now struck the River Roper. Here the party by accident had the misfortune to lose a horse, but the loss in other ways was serviceable. The animal was cut up for food. Turning again to the Journal we read: "We are all enjoying a delightful change of fresh meat from dry. It is a great treat, and the horse eats remarkably well, although not quite so good as bullock. The natives are still burning the grass round us, but they have not made their appearance." A river was next found to which Stuart gave the name of "Chambers," after his late lamented friend and patron, James Chambers. They were visited by a number of natives, who did not like the look of the horses Thring opened the lips of one of the horses and showed the natives its teeth. This was quite sufficient; they made off the moment they saw the teeth, and kept at a respectful distance. Another river was discovered to which Stuart gave the name of "Waterhouse," after the naturalist of his party.

They now had plenty of food and water, and we must hurry on to the end. In his Journal Stuart wrote: "I did not inform any of the party, except Thring and Auld, that I was so near the sea, as I wished to give them a surprise. . . . Thring, who rode in advance of me, called out 'The sea!' which so took them all by surprise that he had to repeat the call before they fully understood what was meant. Then they immediately gave three loud and hearty cheers. . . . I dipped my feet and washed my face and hands in the sea, as I promised the late Governor (Sir Richard MacDonnell) I would do if I reached it. . . . Thus I have, through the instrumentality of Divine Providence, been led to accomplish the great object of the expedition and take the whole party safely as witnesses to the fact."

Stuart had a piece of ground cleared, and selecting one of the highest trees stripped it of its lowest branches, and on the top fixed the Union Jack, with his name attached. The party gave three cheers. Messrs. Kekwick and Waterhouse complimented Stuart on the achievement of his object. Three

[40] Wives.

cheers were given for the Queen and the Prince of Wales, and at the foot of the tree a case was buried containing a paper, on which was written: —

"The exploring party, under the command of John McDouall Stuart, arrived at this spot on the 25th day of July, 1862, having crossed the entire Continent of Australia from the Southern to the Indian Ocean, passing through the centre. They left the City of Adelaide on the 26th day of October, 1861. . . . To commemorate this happy event they have raised this flag, bearing his name. All well. God save the Queen!"(41)

Stuart had to retrace his steps through the Australian wilds—to recross the Continent—to reach the City of Adelaide. We cannot follow him all the way on his return journey.

Poor Stuart! He had to pay the penalty for his laudable ambition and devotion. On his way back he suffered severely from scurvy and bad eyes. At Mount Hay he wrote in his Journal: "So much exhausted and so completely done up that I could not speak a word—the power of speech has completely left me. I was lifted from the saddle and placed under the shade of a mulga bush. In about 10 minutes I recovered my speech. I find that I can no longer sit on horseback. Gave orders for some of the party to make a sort of reclining seat, to be carried between two horses. Also gave orders that a horse was to be shot at sundown, as we are getting rather short of meat, and I hope the change of beef tea, made from fresh meat, will give me some increase of strength." Farther on he wrote: "On Tuesday night I certainly was in the grasp of death. A cold, clammy perspiration, with a tremulous motion, kept creeping slowly over my body during the night, and everything near me had the smell of decaying mortality. . . . I sincerely thank the Almighty Disposer of Events that He, in His infinite goodness and mercy, gave me strength and courage to overcome . . . the King of Terrors, and has kindly permitted me yet to live a little longer in this world. . . . My right hand—nearly useless to me. Total blindness after sundown; although the moon shines bright to others, to me it is total darkness: nearly blind all day; my limbs so weak and painful that I am obliged to be carried about. My body reduced to that of a living skeleton, and my strength that of infantine weakness—a sad, sad wreck of former days."

(41) The case and its contents were either stolen by the blacks or covered by the debris washed up by the tide.

Eventually the party reached the City of Adelaide, where an ovation awaited them.

Welcome Home.

Wednesday, January 21st, 1863, in the growing City of Adelaide was a day to be remembered. The Press of the period said: "The elements seemed to be in unison with the feelings of the people, and the sun shone out brightly"; bright "as the prospects which Stuart's great discoveries opened to South Australia. The air was as genial as the welcome which the people were prepared to give their great explorer." At an early hour city and suburbs were astir. There were indications of a general and gladsome holiday. Suburban residents poured into the city (no longer a collection of huts) from every quarter. The streets were crowded with the pioneers and their families, and with those who had come from Old England at a later period. A great national event was to be celebrated, and the pilgrim fathers and mothers, with their Australian sons and daughters, wished to be in it. Few places of business were open, and those that were open soon closed as if ashamed of their want of respect for the festive occasion. King William Street was spanned at intervals with lines from which hung flags of all nations. A triumphal arch of evergreens graced the entrance to the Assembly Rooms, where a banquet was to be spread. There was a line of flags across the city bridge, and O'Connell Street, North Adelaide, down which the procession was to come, was gaily decorated. Along the line which the procession was to take banners and flags were displayed bearing various inscriptions: "Welcome to Stuart and Party," "Here the Conquering Heroes Come," "Welcome Home," "Honour to the South Australian Pioneers." There was a display of evergreens as well as of bunting. As the morning advanced the streets along which the procession was to pass were lined with vehicles, equestrians, and people on foot. Never before had the footpaths been so crowded with gay and happy groups. None (barring perhaps the census-takers) "could have imagined that Adelaide and its suburbs contained so many stalwart young men and blooming maidens as came forth to do honour to John McDouall Stuart and his party, who had successfully passed through the hitherto unknown wilds of the Australian interior."

As the time approached for Mr. Stuart and his party to appear at the point where the procession was to form an immense body of people gathered. Shortly after the appointed

hour the heroic Stuart and his party appeared in their bush costume. The leader was accompanied by his friends and patrons, Messrs. John Chambers and William Finke (James Chambers had passed away).

Mr. Stuart did not seem to be in good health, but the rest of the party were looking as well as when they started on the journey. The packhorses, forty-one in number, were led by the members of the party. The welcome was a most enthusiastic one.

Addressing the leader of the party the Governor (Sir Dominick Daly) said: "I feel, and your fellow-colonists feel, great pride at the successful completion of what appeared not only to be a difficult but an impossible task. You have been successful, and it must be confessed that you stand now the foremost—the very prince—of explorers. You have crossed the great Continent and have traced a path which renders the repetition of the task a mere question of the purse."

His Excellency called for three cheers for Mr. Stuart, and these fairly "made the welkin ring." The gallant explorer was quite overcome and able to speak only a few sentences.

The Mayor of Adelaide (Thomas English) gave an address on behalf of the Corporation. "Allow me to take," said he, "the opportunity to express my admiration of the skill, bravery, and perseverance which you have exhibited in carrying out your great undertaking to a successful issue. You have traversed the Continent at its greatest width from south to north. You have planted the flag of our Empire upon the shores of the Indian Ocean. You have bathed your feet in those far waters. You have recrossed the Continent, and, thanks to the Almighty Disposer of Events, you now stand safe, with all your party in good health, before us."

Various addresses from other bodies were read.

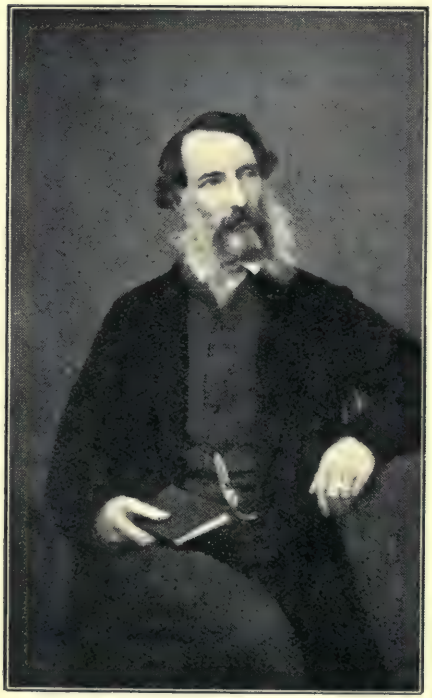
The banquet that followed was a brilliant affair—a great contrast to the wilderness through which the party had passed. There were mottoes, evergreens, flowers, Chinese lanterns, variegated lamps, and flags. The Governor presided and addresses were given by leading pioneers. Replying to the addresses Mr. Stuart said his party had tried to do all that was possible to be done during the expedition. In the last five years he and his friends had endeavoured to penetrate to the opposite coast, but they had failed to do so in every effort but the last. On the last occasion he had determined to reach the northern shores or die in the attempt. When he left Newcastle Waters he felt that he was

not far from death's door, and doubted if he should be able to accomplish the undertaking. He was determined to do whatever was in the power of man to do, and had succeeded in crossing over to the north coast. He felt extremely gratified at the hearty reception they had given him and his party. They had honoured him with the most glorious procession ever seen in the annals of Australia.

The South Australian Government, in a very practical way, showed its appreciation of Stuart's labours. The Parliament voted him £2,000 and allowed him the use of 1,000 square miles in the interior for a number of years free of charge. It also gave gratuities to his men. The Royal Geographical Society of London awarded Stuart its gold medal and presented him with a gold watch. As we shall see farther on, he did not live long to enjoy his honours.

At the forty-ninth anniversary of Stuart's splendid achievement, celebrated in Adelaide on July 25, 1911, five of the band were still alive, *viz.*, William P. Auld, Stephen King, John W. Billiatt (in England), Heath Nash, and John McGorrey. In addition to the leader the following had passed away: —William D. Kekwick, at Nuccalina, October 16, 1872; James Frew, at Glenelg, September 8, 1877: Frederick G. Waterhouse, at Mannahill, September 7, 1898: and Francis William Thring, at Parkside, July 17, 1908.

SKETCHES OF THE PIONEER EXPLORERS.



Edward John Eyre.

CHAPTER XXI.

SKETCHES OF THE PIONEER EXPLORERS.

The "Tight Little Island" of which we are all so proud has produced some famous men, but since the Saxon invasion she has produced no men of finer type than those of whom I have now to speak.

In our first chapter we followed Captain Matthew Flinders on his voyage of discovery to *Terra Australis*, and sailed with him round the south coast. We saw Captain Charles Sturt in his whaleboat sailing down the Murrumbidgee, shooting into a noble river that eye of white man had never seen, and then sailing on for hundreds of miles into the heart of an absolutely unknown country. In our last chapter we saw the same gallant explorer trying to lift the veil from the centre of the Australian Continent. We also followed the heroic Edward John Eyre as he fought his way against fearful odds from South to Western Australia.

These are the men—grand, glorious men—who have helped to make the Empire, and the reader would like to know more of them. Who were their parents? Where were they born? What was their history before they came to the Great Lone Land? Where and how did they end their days? These are questions which, in the nature of things, must suggest themselves to our minds. The story that we have to tell is still full of thrilling interest. Verily "truth is stranger than fiction."

Captain Matthew Flinders.

He came from a race of surgeons. It was to this profession that his father belonged. Matthew was born on March 16th, 1774, at Donington, in Lincolnshire. How often the career of a man is decided by the associations of his youth. It was so in the case of young Flinders. He read "Robinson Crusoe," and the book sent him to sea. Drugs and the anatomy of the human body had no charm for him—they were too prosaic—the goal of his ambition was to sail over unknown seas. He gave himself to the study of geometry and navigation, and then set sail upon the ocean. Young Flinders was on board the *Bellerophon* when Lord Howe won his signal victory over the French on June 1st, 1794. He next sailed with Captain Bligh on a voyage to the South Sea Islands. The next time we meet with him he is on board the *Reliance*

as midshipman, bound for the young settlement on the eastern coast of New Holland. It was "his passion for exploring new countries" that "led him to embrace an opportunity of going out upon a station, which, of all others, presented the most ample fields for his favourite pursuit." Such is his testimony. It was in September, 1795, that the *Reliance* rode into Port Jackson, New South Wales.

The surgeon of the vessel was a young man named George Bass. Like Flinders, he was thirsting for adventure. While the *Reliance* was stationed at Port Jackson these two young men secured a boat, only 8 ft. long, which they christened the *Tom Thumb*. In this small craft, with only a lad to assist them, they spent some time in exploring the Australian coast. It was a risky experiment, but full of romance. They fairly revelled in it, for were they not sailing where boat of civilized man had never been. Sometimes they were in danger of wreck, and at least on one occasion they were at the mercy of the blacks. Their supply of water was getting low. The *Tom Thumb* was anchored and they proceeded to examine the coast. Soon they were surrounded by natives, but Flinders created diversion for them in a singular way. One or two of these blacks had been brought into contact with whites before and had had their hair cut. Others now wished to have the same distinction, so while Flinders' powder was drying he took a large pair of scissors and set to work "upon the eldest of four or five chins presented to him." He says: "As great nicety was not required, the shearing of a dozen of them did not occupy me long." Everything "being prepared for a retreat . . . it was not without stratagem that we succeeded in getting down to the entrance of the stream, where depth of water placed us out of their reach." On this trip Flinders discovered indications of the coalfields that have made New South Wales famous.

For a time the two young adventurers were separated. Bass took a whaleboat and set out on a voyage of exploration. He sailed for about 600 miles along the coast, and from what he saw surmised the existence of a strait separating Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) from the Australian Continent. In after years, speaking of this trip, Flinders said: "A voyage expressly undertaken for discovery in an open boat, and in which 600 miles of coast, mostly in a boisterous climate, was explored, has not perhaps its equal in the annals of maritime history."

The Governor of New South Wales furnished Flinders with a sloop of 25 tons to further explore the Australian coast and to look for the strait the existence of which

Bass had surmised. In this expedition Bass was associated with Flinders. They circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land, and the strait separating it from the mainland has ever since been known and mapped as Bass Strait.

After their return to Port Jackson Bass sailed for England and Flinders went on another exploratory tour round the Australian coast.[42]

The *Reliance* was ordered to England, and Flinders returned in the vessel to his native land.

Hitherto the south coast of Australia was unknown. There was a desire among authorities in the Old Land that it should be explored. The Admiralty took the matter up. A man-of-war (the *Investigator)* was fitted out and Flinders was put in command. With this expedition we have dealt in our first chapter. We there took leave of Flinders at Encounter Bay. Thence he proceeded to Port Jackson, New South Wales.

After spending some time in port he set sail, examining the east and north coasts of Australia and sailing right round the Australian Continent.

Having accomplished all that he desired, Flinders determined to sail for the Old Land. The *Investigator* was found to be unseaworthy, so the *Porpoise* was secured. It was Flinders' desire to sail home as a passenger. This would give him time to prepare the results of his voyage for the Admiralty. Command of the *Porpoise* was given to Lieutenant Fowler. No doubt his distinguished passenger and old commander was looking forward to a safe, speedy, and pleasant voyage. But such was not to be. From this time misfortune dogged Flinders' steps. The vessel struck on a reef. There were two other ships in the wake of the *Porpoise.* One of these also struck. Fortunately only three lives were lost. The valuable collection of Australian plants that Flinders was conveying to England was lost and other curiosities which he had collected.

In the morning the shipwrecked party found shelter above water-mark, and water and provisions were secured from the wreck.

The cutter was then made ready and Flinders sailed back to Port Jackson for help. Governor King's surprise can be imagined when he again saw in the flesh one whom he

(42) Bass had a mysterious end. He returned to England, and then sailed again for New South Wales in the *Venus.* The vessel arrived safely at her destination. On the return voyage both the *Venus* and her crew mysteriously disappeared. What became of the adventurous Bass no one knows.

thought to be well on his way to the Old Land. The *Rolla*, a vessel bound for China, and two smaller ships were sent to rescue the wrecked mariners.

Governor King offered Flinders the use of the *Cumberland*, a vessel of 29 tons burden, with which to get to England, if possible, without delay. On September 29th, 1803, he sailed out of Sydney Harbour.

On arrival at the scene of the wreck the whole party were found to be well. Flinders then chose ten officers and men to sail with him in the *Cumberland* to England. The remainder of the party went on board the *Rolla* bound for China, or on the other two vessels, which were to return to Port Jackson.

Poor Flinders! One misfortune after another overtook him. The *Cumberland* needed repairs. Flinders was not aware that there was war between France and England, so he called in at Mauritius. Here he and his crew were taken prisoners. Burning with anxiety to reach England and to make known to the world the results of his explorations, his position was desperate. He tells how he was conducted to a large house in the middle of the town and through a long dark entry up a dirty staircase into a room. The chamber contained two truckle beds, a small table, and two rush-bottomed chairs. He stripped and got into bed, but not to sleep. Between the mosquitoes above and the bugs below, as well as the novelty of the position, it was near daybreak before he fell asleep.

Later on he says: "We who were shut up in the middle of the town and from having been three months confined to a vessel of 29 tons were much in need of exercise. The heat and want of fresh air were not the worst evils. Our undefended pallet beds were besieged with swarms of bugs and mosquitoes, and the bites of these noxious insects upon bodies ready to break out with scurvy produced effects more than usually painful. Being almost covered with inflamed spots, some of which had become ulcers on my legs and feet, I wrote to the captain-general requesting the assistance of a surgeon."

Mr. Aken, of the *Cumberland*, was released. He took with him to England several despatches from Flinders.

After about three years' imprisonment Flinders wrote: "The state of incertitude in which I remained after nearly three years of anxiety brought on a dejection of spirits which might have proved fatal had I not sought, by constant occupation, to force my mind from a subject so destructive to its repose. I reconstructed some of my charts on a larger

scale . . . and completed for the Admiralty an enlarged copy of the *Investigator's* log-book. The study of the French language was pursued with increased application. But what assisted most in dispelling the melancholy was a packet of letters from England bringing intelligence of my family and friends and the satisfactory information that Mr. Aken had safely reached London with all the charts, journals, letters, and instruments committed to his charge."

One after another other prisoners were exchanged and released, but poor Flinders remained.

In June, 1810, through the good offices of Mr. Hope, Commissary of Prisoners, Flinders was released on parole after an imprisonment of nearly seven years. To add to his misfortunes efforts were made by some of the French to deprive him of the honour of his discoveries on the South Australian coast.

When he reached home he spent the remainder of his life in preparing for publication his "Account of a Voyage to *Terra Australis*." He died just about the time that it was published, July 14th, 1814. The ruling passion of his life was strong in death. Among his last words were these:—"I know that in future days of exploration my spirit will rise from the dead and follow the exploring ships."

Captain Charles Sturt.

A man beloved by the South Australian pioneers. Long as the Province endures his memory will be venerated. He was born in India in 1795. His father was a judge. In early life Charles was sent to England. He was educated at Harrow, and had some of the bitter experiences common to schoolboys in those days. Charles was "fag" to the Duke of Dorset. On one occasion this aristocratic youth sent him to the top of a high tree to rob a rook's nest, and then thrashed him because one of the eggs was broken in his descent. Young Sturt replied by throwing a brickbat at his persecutor.

In 1813 he joined the army as ensign, and saw active service on the Continent and in Canada. For some time he served in Ireland. Here he passed through some stirring experiences in connection with the Whiteboy organization. The numerous evictions in Ireland lay at the basis of this society. It spread rapidly through many counties, and for a time established a reign of terror. Sturt was called out one night to defend a farmhouse attacked by the Whiteboys. His experience on this occasion was such as to destroy all sympathy with Irish patriotism. He found a farmhouse in ruins, and

among the debris was the dead body of a beautiful girl, as well as the lifeless bodies of other members of the family.

In 1825 Sturt was gazetted captain, and a year later he sailed for New South Wales in command of a detachment of his regiment. For some time he acted as Governor Darling's private secretary. He then led an exploring party into the interior, and discovered and named the River Darling.

With his romantic trip down the Murray and through Lake Alexandrina we have dealt in our first chapter. He then returned to New South Wales and was sent on military service to Norfolk Island, a convict settlement. Here he had some exciting adventures with the convicts and succeeded in stamping out a mutiny.

After putting things in order at Norfolk Island Captain Sturt, in ill-health and threatened with blindness, sailed for England. Here he published an account of his explorations and retired from the army.

Returning to New South Wales he began sheep-farming.

We next find him leading an overland expedition in charge of cattle to the New Settlement in South Australia. The journey was both difficult and dangerous, and Sturt and his party were often in jeopardy from hostile blacks. He left New South Wales with his cattle in May, 1838, and reached the New Settlement on the Adelaide plains at the end of August of the same year. The new colony had not then been in existence four years. Among those to welcome him was Edward John Eyre.

After returning to New South Wales he accepted office as Surveyor-General of South Australia, and selling his cattle station removed with his wife and family to Adelaide. His next appointment was that of Registrar-General.

In 1844 he set out upon the heroic attempt to reach the centre of the Australian Continent, which we narrated in our previous chapter.

In 1847 he went on leave of absence to England and received the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society. Two years later he returned to Adelaide. When the new Legislative Council on a more representative basis was formed in 1851 Captain Sturt was appointed Colonial Secretary. A few years later he retired from the Government service and received a pension of £600 a year in recognition of the services he had rendered to the colony. Captain Sturt had a great love for South Australia. Said he: "Wherever I may go, to whatever part of the world my destinies may lead me, I shall yet hope one day to return to my adopted home, and make it my resting-place between this world and the next."

It may interest the South Australian reader to know that Captain Sturt's home in the colony was at the Grange, near the seashore, a few miles to the west of Adelaide. Speaking of it he said: "The Grange is a most healthy spot. It has fine, lofty, umbrageous trees, like oaks, the moisture having drawn their limbs horizontal. It is the most English-looking place in the Province."

In 1853 Captain Sturt again sailed for England. He died suddenly in England on June 16th, 1869. Captain Sturt was designated for the honour of knighthood, but died before it was conferred. His widow survived him many years and bore the title of Lady Sturt. The name of this pioneer will be handed down to future generations in the district of Sturt south of Adelaide, a street in Adelaide, and in a small river that bears his name.

What has specially impressed me as I have followed Captain Sturt from place to place has been his unwavering confidence in God—his recognition of an overruling Providence.

Edward John Eyre.

A man of heroic, determined spirit, who for many years led a most eventful life. Eyre came from an old and honourable English family. He was the son of a clergyman, and was born in Yorkshire in 1815, the year of the battle of Waterloo. It has been said of him that he was "a grave, quiet, self-centred, composed boy, remarkable only for the dogged resolution with which he pursued any amusement, study, or occupation he had once begun." He was sent to the Louth Grammar School, at which Alfred Tennyson had been educated. Young Eyre was a hard worker at school, and must have had some literary talent, as one of his masters predicted that some day he would be "a blazing star in the literary horizon." Arithmetic and algebra seem to have been his favourite studies: he also acquired some knowledge of chemistry and astronomy. In his childhood Eyre was not without adventures, and on two or three occasions narrowly escaped drowning.

At the age of seventeen, with £400 in his pocket, Eyre sailed for the young settlement in New South Wales. Here he began life as a sheepfarmer. This was in the year 1833. Five years later we first meet with him in the history of South Australia. He came overland from New South Wales to Adelaide with a herd of cattle. On the way he discovered a lake and named it Hindmarsh, after the Governor. Returning to New South Wales he made a second trip in 1839, bringing with him 1,000 sheep and 600 head

of cattle. It was shortly after this that we find him in the pioneer Court. It was in this way: The overland trips in the early days were difficult and dangerous. For months those who were engaged in them were away from civilization. There was no clearly defined route. The pioneers in those enterprises had to travel through unknown country. Day by day they had to grope their way through mallee scrub and gum-tree forests. In summer the heat was intense and sometimes the dust blinding; in winter the cold was biting and the rain drenching. At night time they hobbled their horses and outspanned their oxen. A rude shelter was made. The fire was lit and the pot boiled. The party then sat down to damper and mutton. The meal over, one or two would keep watch while the others unrolled their bedding and lay down to rest. There was very little change of diet, and in summer it was sometimes difficult to find water. They were liable to attacks from hostile blacks, and there was the possibility of the party losing their bearings. When the journey was successfully ended and they reached the little settlement on the plains of Adelaide, is it any wonder if they went in for a little recreation? After this second journey Eyre and some other overlanders had a banquet. Evidently they did not sit down first and count the cost. The banquet was over and the bill came in. It amounted to £180. Eyre and his fellow-overlanders refused to pay the high price demanded, regarding the charge as extortionate. The case came before the pioneer Court and a verdict was given for the payment of £151. This incident is, indeed, a sidelight upon the social life of our pilgrim fathers. It furnishes us with a clue to the prices charged by some of the pioneer caterers. There were six hams, £7 17s. 6d.; six roast geese at £1 each; two legs of mutton, £1; sixteen chickens, £3 12s.; twelve pairs of fowls, £8 12s.; eight pairs of pigeons at 10s. a pair; three dozen tongues, £7 16s.; twelve dozen eggs at 6s. per dozen; 36 lb. of butter at 3s. 6d. per lb.: 20 lb. of jam, £4. Other articles in the same proportion soon brought the bill to £180. It was necessary to charge extortionate prices when one of the cooks was paid £1 per day!

Of the overlanders who celebrated the end of their journeys in the way we have indicated an old pioneer has said: "This class of colonists were mostly all in the prime of youth and of good families, but finding no outlet for their enterprise and love of adventure in England, sought it at the Antipodes. Amongst them, therefore, was found a degree of polish and openness rarely to be looked for in such a mode of life; and in the distant bush one would unexpectedly

stumble on a finished gentleman in the bushman's garb of blue shirt, soiled cabbage-tree hat with broad black ribbon, and booted and spurred, and with the indispensable stock-whip in his hand and last, not least, a short black clay pipe in his mouth. Yet many of these worthies had been educated at Eton and Cambridge."(43)

Not long after the events which I have just narrated Eyre and his party set out to explore the interior. With this heroic enterprise the last chapter has dealt. He returned in July, 1841, and a banquet was tendered to him. He was then appointed Resident Magistrate at Moorunde, on the River Murray. We have spoken of the attacks made by the blacks on overland parties. The object of the appointment of a magistrate was to try to bring about a better understanding between the blacks and the whites. In the attainment of this object Eyre was eminently successful. He obtained the confidence and the goodwill of the natives and had great influence over them, travelling alone from wurley to wurley and from tribe to tribe up the Murray and the Darling. Said he: "I have gone almost alone among hordes of fierce and bloodthirsty savages, as they were considered, and have stood singly among them in the remote and trackless wilds when hundreds were congregated around without ever receiving the least injury or insult. In my first visits to the more distant tribes I found them shy, alarmed, and suspicious. But soon learning that I had no wish to injure them they met me with readiness and confidence. My wishes became their law; they conceded points to me that they would not have done to their own people, and on many occasions cheerfully underwent hunger, thirst, and fatigue to serve me."

In 1844 Eyre retired from his position as magistrate at Moorunde. Two years later he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in New Zealand in association with Sir George Grey. This position he held for six years, giving full satisfaction to the Imperial authorities. Here his love of adventure led him into danger. In company with some Maoris he climbed a high snow-capped mountain. In the descent one of the Maoris fell a depth of 1,500 ft. Eyre had a narrow escape, but his presence of mind saved him. His foot slipped, but dashing his iron-shod pole into the snow he maintained his position. The whole night was spent on the mountain on the brink of destruction. The descent was safely negotiated the next day. After spending his full term in New Zealand he returned to England and was appointed Lieutenant-

(43) "Reminiscences": Alexander Tolmer.

Governor of St. Vincent, in the West Indies. Here he remained for six years.

We are now approaching one of the most painful periods of his life. The awful struggle he had had with adverse circumstances in the Australian bush must have been a bitter experience. Much more so, perhaps, that which we have now to relate.

One of the most difficult positions in the service of the Crown was the Governorship of Jamaica. To this Eyre was appointed. Here an insurrection broke out in which a mulatto named Gordon, an educated man and member of the Legislature, seems to have played a prominent part. At Morant Bay hundreds of negroes, armed with muskets, bayonets, cutlasses, fish spears, and long poles, with billhooks attached, rose against the whites. The volunteers were overpowered. Several were killed. The remainder, in company with some prominent whites (among whom were the rector and his sons), took refuge in the court-house. The negroes held a consultation and then set fire to the court-house. The inmates succeeded in making their escape to the school-house. This, too, was set on fire. As the burning roof fell in the victims tried to escape. Some were shot by the negroes, some cut down with cutlasses, and others killed with sticks. The tongue of the rector (the Rev. Mr. Herschell) was cut out. Flushed and maddened with their success the rioters then proceeded to stir up all the negroes in the colony, and thus to create a general insurrection.

As soon as Governor Eyre heard of the outbreak he called the Executive together, proclaimed martial law over the disaffected district, gathered a force, and set out for Morant Bay. Paul Bogle, the leader of the Morant Bay massacre, was captured. The rebels were hemmed in and the insurrection crushed. Gordon was arrested, court-martialed, and hanged on the ruins of the court-house. Many negroes were put to death, some were flogged, and hundreds of their huts were burned.

When the news reached England Governor Eyre's action was resented by a section of the community. A Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into his conduct. The finding of the Commission was that while the Governor had acted with skill and promptitude the punishments inflicted were excessive. The Imperial authorities wrote to Governor Eyre to the effect that, although they appreciated his prompt action in checking the insurrection, they considered it would be wise if some gentleman who had not been obliged to take sides in the recent trouble should be entrusted with the duty of

inaugurating a new Constitution for the island. This was the Governor's recall. All England was stirred. The biographer of the late Professor Huxley (his son) says the question of Governor Eyre's justification in the execution of Gordon stirred England profoundly. "It became the touchstone of ultimate political convictions. Men who had little concern for ordinary politics came forward to defend a great constitutional principle which they conceived to be endangered. A committee was formed to prosecute Governor Eyre on a charge of murder. Thereupon a counter committee was organized for the defence of the man who, like Cromwell, judged that the people preferred their real security to forms, and had presumably saved the white population of Jamaica by striking promptly at the focus of rebellion."(44)

Over the legality of Governor Eyre's conduct men who had been the dearest friends were divided. The leading spirit in the committee formed for the prosecution of the Governor for murder was John Stuart Mill. In antagonism to him was Professor Tyndall. Said the latter: "Mr. John Stuart Mill has more than once recommended the outspoken manly utterance of conviction. I hope he will bear it with good temper when he finds such utterance to be in opposition to himself. He doubtless sees in himself the assertor of constitutional principles. I see in him the persecutor of a man who has done the State incalculable service. I see him endeavouring to fix the brand of murder upon one who (whatever his legal errors may have been) saved the colony which he ruled from excesses a million times more terrible"—more terrible than the excesses said to have been committed by the Governor's subordinates.

Professor Huxley, who has dedicated his "Lay Sermons and Reviews" to "His Dear Tyndall," on this occasion was in antagonism to him. Writing to Charles Darwin, Huxley remarked: "I am glad to hear from Spencer that you are on the right (that is *my*) side in the Jamaica business. But it is wonderful how people who commonly act together are divided about it." In commenting upon the case Huxley said: "I desire to see Mr. Eyre indicted and a verdict of guilty in a criminal court obtained." This statement reveals not the cool, calculating philosopher, but the heated partisan who seems to have been thirsting for the condemnation of a man. Writing to Professor Tyndall he expressed a hope that their friendship was strong enough to stand any strain that might be put upon it, at the same time expressing grief that they should be ranged in opposite camps over the Eyre controversy.

(44) "Life of Professor Huxley."

Thomas Carlyle, to whom Governor Eyre was unknown in person, was deeply moved by sympathy for him. He was now an old man. Writing to a friend he said: "Yesterday, in spite of the rain, I got up to the Eyre Committee and let myself be voted to the chair, such being the post of danger on this occasion. Poor Eyre! I am heartily sorry for him and for the English nation which makes such a dismal fool of itself. Eyre, it seems, has suddenly fallen from £6,000 a year into almost zero, and has a large family and needy kindred dependent upon him. Such is his reward for saving the West Indies and hanging one incendiary mulatto well worth the gallows if I can judge."

Froude, in his history of "Thomas Carlyle's Life in London," says: "In submission to general clamour Eyre had been recalled in disgrace. He had applied for other employment and had been refused. He had several children and was irretrievably ruined. It was (Carlyle said to me) as if a ship had been on fire; the captain, by immediate and bold action, had put the fire out and had been called to account for having flung a bucket or two of water into the hold beyond what was necessary. He had damaged some of the cargo, perhaps, but he had saved the ship."

Alfred Tennyson sent a contribution to the Eyre defence fund as a tribute to the nobleness of the man, and as a protest against the spirit in which a servant of the State who had saved one of the islands of the Empire and many English lives was hunted down.

Evidently the question was a very involved one. It was not possible for people living in England to enter into all the peculiarities of the case. That Edward John Eyre was a just humane man is evident from his gracious treatment of the Australian aborigines in his early days, of which I have spoken in this sketch. He was their advocate and their defender. He was too honourable and too kind-hearted to do them a wrong. That he was a cool, calculating, heroic man—a man not likely to give way to panic—is demonstrated by his conduct on the tragic exploratory expedition with which I have dealt in the previous chapter. That mistakes may have been made in the grave crisis with which he had momentarily to deal is only to be expected. What was the opinion of the whites of Jamaica in relation to the case? The Bishop of Jamaica said: "I have an earnest sympathy with Mr. Eyre. I warmly admire his character and history as far as they are known to me, and I firmly believe that the speedy suppression of the murderous insurrection in Jamaica is attributable, under God's providence, to the promptitude,

courage, and judgment with which he acted under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and danger."

Sir General Gomm, who had once commanded the forces in Jamaica, said: "I know Jamaica—I know it intimately—most intimately. . . . It is my firm belief that the means adopted by Governor Eyre were pressed upon him by difficulties and dangers rarely paralleled. It is my deliberate opinion that he saved the island of Jamaica to the British Crown."

Before Governor Eyre left Jamaica the clergy presented him with an address in which it was stated that "he saved the island from the most imminent peril of a general insurrection, in which they knew him to have been actuated by the purest motives."

In replying to a farewell address the Governor said: "However able or impartial the persons may be by whom my conduct has been enquired into and adjudicated upon, it is impossible that persons imperfectly acquainted with the negro character, with the country, and with the circumstances that surrounded me at the time, can judge adequately or justly, after the event, of the necessity or propriety of the action I found it imperative to take under a great emergency. I now retire into private life, dismissed from the Public Service after nearly a lifetime spent in it, but I have at least the consolation of feeling that there has been nothing in my conduct to merit it, nothing to occasion self-reproach, nothing to regret. . . . I carry with me in my retirement the proud consciousness that at all times and under all circumstances I have endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to do my duty as a servant of the Crown faithfully, fearlessly, and irrespective of personal considerations."

The British Government granted Mr. Eyre a pension, and he retired to Devonshire, to live many years cherishing, no doubt, a conviction that a cloud had settled over his life and that he had suffered a great injustice. He passed away in December, 1901, in his eighty-seventh year.

Personal Notes.

When I first set to work some years ago to gather material for these chapters the reading of Eyre's "Discoveries in Central Australia" strangely moved me. As I followed him from point to point in that awful attempt to reach Western Australia across country that was a *terra incognita* my imagination was fired. As a South Australian born and bred the country was known to me. I had no idea that the gallant ex-

plorer was then living, so completely had he passed out of sight. When tidings came to me that the gallant Eyre was still alive I dispatched a letter to England. It was like an arrow shot at a venture, but it found its mark. It was my joy to receive a letter from him—a letter that to me was like a resurrection from the dead. The following is a copy:—

"Walreddon Manor,

"Tavistock,

"Devon, Nov. 2nd, 1900.

"Dear Sir—

"I am much obliged by your letter dated September 21st, 1900, which duly reached me on October 29th. It takes me back more than a generation ago to the foundation of the colony of South Australia, with its early efforts, struggles, and anxieties, of which I may indeed say *quorum pars parva fui*, for my share in which I am more than compensated by the wonderful progress and prosperity which the colony has attained. You refer to my taking the first sheep overland from New South Wales to Adelaide. I look back to that most successful undertaking in leading the way for the numerous flocks which subsequently followed, and it is a proud recollection with me that on this expedition, as well as in all my previous and subsequent travels in Australia, I never once came into collision with or in any way injured a single one of the numerous native tribes through which I passed on so many occasions. It is always gratifying to learn that my services are appreciated, and especially so by one who, belonging to a subsequent generation, cannot be influenced by any personal feelings towards me.

"It is fifty-six years since I left South Australia, and I am now in my eighty-sixth year.

"My wife has supplied me with the only photograph I am able to send you, as I have not been photographed since it was taken long years ago.

"Yours very sincerely,

"Edwd. John Eyre."

At the end of December in the same year I forwarded to him a copy of my "South Australian Romance," dealing more especially with the religious history of the Province in the early days. For this I received the following reply, interesting not only on account of the personality of the writer, but

because of the light that it throws upon the early history of the Province:—

"Walreddon Manor,

"Tavistock,

"Devon, Jan. 23rd, 1901.

"My dear Sir—

"Four days ago I received your book, for which I again thank you. I sat down at once and read it right through with great interest. It recalled to my memory scenes and persons of the long, long past, for I was well acquainted with most of the early colonists and had some share in developing the progress of the colony. I arrived at Adelaide just as Captain Hindmarsh was about to embark in a man-of-war upon giving up his government, and was just in time to be introduced to him before he left. Of his successor (Colonel Gawler) I saw and knew a great deal, for he was most kind to me. He was, in the highest sense of the words, a *just* and *good* man, and truly religious. I was present with him when he laid the foundation of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel on November 27th, 1838, and I remember well that the substance of his address was to the effect that, although his own church differed in *form* from that of the Wesleyan Methodist, yet the *essentials* of the religion of both were identical, and he used the remarkable expression that if the wine were good the *form* of the cup from which it was administered was of minor importance, adding, impressively, 'I count it so.'

"You say truly that to the judgment and foresight of Colonel Light the colony of South Australia owes everything, for there is no other site where its capital could have been so successfully established as the one he so fortunately insisted upon in spite of opposition, and which now is the magnificent and flourishing City of Adelaide. Could he now see the happy result of labour, anxiety, and firmness well might he exclaim: *Si monumentum requiris circumspice.*"

"Very sincerely yours,

"Edwd. John Eyre."

John Ainsworth Horrocks.

He was born at Penwortham Lodge, Lancashire, England, in 1818, and came from an honourable and wealthy family. About two years after the founding of South Australia Horrocks left the Old Land and came to the new Province. After his arrival Edward John Eyre told him of a place suitable for settlement nearly a hundred miles from Adelaide.

Accompanied by one of his men Horrocks set out for the place described to him by Eyre. By the aid of the stars and a compass they found it. It was the beautiful locality ever since known as Penwortham. It was so called by Horrocks after his birthplace in old England. How many to-day ride through the beautiful village of Penwortham, on the road to Clare, quite unconscious of this fact. How few know that in the old churchyard of Penwortham, not far from the road, there lies the body of one of the most promising of our pioneer explorers, and in the church close by a monument to his memory.

Before building a house at Penwortham Horrocks slept for some months in the base of a hollow gum-tree. After suitable premises were erected he purchased some sheep that had come overland from New South Wales and in company with his brother began sheep-farming. At Penwortham he had some exciting experiences. Though kind to the blacks they speared his sheep and almost killed one of his shepherds with their waddies. After three or four years' residence at Penwortham Horrocks visited the Old Land. Returning to South Australia he left his station in 1846 to lead the exploration party of which I have spoken. The sad accident that befell him on that expedition was described in the last chapter. Horrocks was anxious that the few pioneers in the Middle North should not be destitute of the ordinances of religion. Religious services were held in his house, and he took steps toward the erection of a place of worship. The Penwortham Church was inspired by him.

It was Horrocks who discovered and named the Gulnare Plains; they were so called after one of his favourite dogs which, in one of his exploring tours, killed seven emus in four days on these plains.

Edward Bate Scott.

He was born in Kent, England, in 1822. When quite a youth he emigrated to New South Wales. In 1839 the late George Hamilton (who was Commissioner of Police in South Australia in 1867) was bringing over a mob of cattle from Port Phillip to the new settlment on the banks of the Torrens. Young Scott joined him. The journey through the bush was safely negotiated, and the young overlander found himself in the embryo city of Adelaide. Here he met Alfred M. Mundy and Edward John Eyre. These two men decided to go on a trip to Western Australia with sheep and cattle. Mr. Scott decided to throw in his lot with them.

The stock was taken from Port Adelaide to Albany by sea and then driven through the bush to Perth. Returning to Adelaide Eyre set out upon the expedition into the interior to which reference has been made. As his travelling companion and second in command he took with him Edward Bate Scott. Speaking of him in his Journal he said: "My young friend Mr. Scott in many of these duties assisted me. He was the only sportsman of the party, and upon his gun we were dependent for supplies of wallabies, pigeons, ducks, or other game to vary our bill of fare and make the few sheep we had hold out as long as possible. As a companion I could not have made a better selection—young, active, and cheerful." When Eyre decided to force his way overland to Western Australia Mr. Scott was anxious to accompany him. Writing to me some sixty-six years after the event Mr. Scott said: "Eyre at all risks would undertake the journey, and I had to return to Adelaide, as he would not jeopardize my life by taking me with him." When Eyre was appointed Resident Magistrate at Moorunde, on the River Murray, Mr. Scott was again associated with him. From this point he went on an exploring trip with Edward John Eyre to the Broken Hill ranges. Nearly all the aborigines met with on the journey had never seen a white man before, and were astounded at the marvels that young Scott wrought with his gun. He says: "Our introduction to these people by Nadbuck (an influential native) as 'blackfellows' friends' was all that one could desire, and each day as we passed along through the country tribes would assemble to welcome us. On our arrival at Laidley Ponds my friend, Mr. Eyre, was taken ill, and wished to return to Moorunde, having partly accomplished the object we had in view, and having ridden 765 miles on the same horses, carrying our swags, meat, and flour." Mr. Scott became Resident Magistrate at Moorunde and passed through some stirring experiences. In after-life he held different Government offices, and died at Currency Creek on June 30th, 1909, aged eighty-six years.

John McKinlay.

Another stalwart. He was born at Sandbank, on the Clyde, Scotland, in 1819. When seventeen years of age he left his native land to join his uncle, who was a squatter in New South Wales. Here he became an experienced bushman. About the year 1840 he removed to South Australia and became one of the pioneer squatters in the North. John

McKinlay held the lease of a large run near the Burra before the famous mine in that locality was discovered. In 1861 his services were sought by the South Australian Government. Messrs. Burke and Wills had set out from Melbourne to attempt to accomplish the task on which Stuart had set his heart—the crossing of the Australian Continent. No tidings of them had been heard. Australians generally were alarmed. Various search and relief parties were formed. Authority was given by the South Australian Parliament for the equipment of a light search party. The command was offered to John McKinlay and accepted by him. On August 16th, 1861, he set out on his long and perilous journey into the interior. He had with him six men, four camels, twenty-two horses, and provisions for twelve months. He was absent for about a year, and on his return to Adelaide was able to announce that he had actually crossed the Continent from sea to sea. He met with traces of Burke and Wills, the unfortunate men having perished in the bush at Cooper's Creek. He also discovered the remains of Grey, one of the party. McKinlay and his companions were in danger from hostile natives, heavy floods, and lack of provisions, but came safely through. A bonus of £1,000 was granted to McKinlay by the South Australian Parliament, a banquet was tendered him by the Speaker of the House of Assembly, and some of the colonists presented him with a valuable testimonial.

In 1865 he led another party to examine the country in the neighbourhood of Adam Bay, the proposed site for the first Northern Territory settlement. He met with great difficulties and became so hemmed in with floods that he had to kill and skin the horses, build a punt of saplings, cover it with the hides of the slaughtered horses and the canvas of the tents, and make for the coast along the course of the East Alligator River. While doing so the party were attacked by natives, who were repulsed without serious results.

John McKinlay made his way back to Adelaide and settled at Gawler. It was said of him that "he was a man possessed of sterling qualities, of ready resource, prompt and decided in action, of genial disposition and affable manners, and of unimpeachable integrity." He died on December 31st, 1872, at "Oaklands," Gawler. The colonists honoured him in death as in life. People came from distant parts of South Australia to "pay their sad homage to the memory of one who was deservedly beloved as a warm-hearted, intelli-

gent friend and a genial, courteous gentleman." A monument has been erected to his memory in the town of Gawler.

John McDouall Stuart.

I have elsewhere remarked that among the pioneers of South Australia there were many notable men. The lives of some of these have already been sketched. Amid the galaxy of nation-builders whom to-day we delight to honour John McDouall Stuart occupies a foremost place. To gather material for an account of Stuart's life—especially the early part of it—has not been an easy task.

He was born at Dysart, Fifeshire, Scotland, September 7th, 1815. His father was Captain William Stuart, an officer in the British army Young Stuart received his early education at Edinburgh. Later on he attended the Military Academy. He entered upon a commercial life, but there was other and greater work for him to do. In 1838, two years after the colony of South Australia was founded, Stuart emigrated, as many young fellows of sterling worth did, to Australia. He entered the Government Survey Department in South Australia. When Captain Charles Sturt set out in 1844 to try to reach the centre of the Continent Stuart was associated with him as draughtsman. This was a splendid apprenticeship for his life's work. Some time after the return of Captain Sturt's expedition Stuart became associated with Messrs. John and James Chambers and William Finke. He was employed by them in discovering and surveying new country suitable for pasturage. It was partly through the inspiration and help given by these men that Stuart undertook the various expeditions that I have narrated. Having already dealt with these, we must pass over this period of his career. After having fulfilled the great purpose of his life (the crossing and recrossing of the Australian Continent) John McDouall Stuart tried to settle down to pastoral pursuits; but his constitution was undermined—his days were indeed numbered. He had actually worn himself out in his country's service. He was advised to return to the Old Land, and sailed by the *Indus* in April, 1864. After his arrival in England he settled at Notting Hill Square, London; died in June, 1866; and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery. Some years ago a gentleman from South Australia visited Kensal Green Cemetery. He went from grave to grave reading the epitaphs on the tombs referring to some of the illustrious dead. Not far from the resting-place of the social reformer Fergus O'Connor a granite obelisk attracted

his attention. Said he: "Amid strange feelings of pleasure and surprise I discovered myself to be standing by the resting-place of South Australia's hero, the brave Stuart. On one side of the granite pile is engraved an inscription:—

'To the Memory
JOHN MCDOUALL STUART,
South Australian Explorer.
The first who crossed the Continent from the South to the Indian Ocean.
Born, 1815. Died, 1866.'"

Stuart was a very fine bushman and leader of men. One of the survivors of his party (William Patrick Auld), who gave me some notes for this history, said: "As a leader he could not be beaten—cool, cautious, determined, and plucky. The greater the difficulty the cooler he became."

Stuart's indomitable perseverance and courage are shown in the persistent efforts made to achieve his end. Beaten back again and again by inhospitable natural conditions that to some men would have been appalling, again and again he rallied and went forward to the attack till victory crowned his efforts. The record of his prowess—of his ultimate success in the face of difficulty and danger—should be an inspiration to all of British blood. What it cost Stuart to turn back—even for a time—is more than pen can tell. How the spirit chafed and rebelled against its limitations. Listen to him: "Would that my horses had more endurance"—that they could go longer without water—"it is dreadful to have to return almost at the threshold of success." Again: "We are reduced to 4 lb. of flour and 1 lb. of dried meat for each man per week . . . but I can leave nothing untried where there is the least shadow of gaining the desired object." Once again: "It is with great reluctance that I am forced to return." After he had realized the great purpose of his life and was recrossing the Continent to reach Adelaide both his determination and heroism were revealed. William Patrick Auld said: "I don't believe any other man could or would have travelled in the frightful agonies that Stuart suffered. He said to me, 'We must go on. If the party stop to nurse me not one of you will ever reach the settled districts: there is not a day to spare. The waters are drying up.'"

Something must be said of his devotion to duty. Speaking of his last trip he said: "I was determined to succeed

or to die in the attempt," and death was very near. On several of his trips he suffered keenly. He was smitten with scurvy, and climatic conditions, as well as mental and physical strain, almost destroyed his eyesight, yet he never faltered. How pathetic are some of the entries in his Journal: "Suffering very much from bad eyes and the effects of the water of these springs. Cannot help it, but must go and examine the country to the north-west." . . . "My eyes so bad I cannot see." . . . "I feel a little better to-day, but suffer very much from the eyes." . . . "Arrived after dark. My eyes are still very bad, and I suffer dreadfully from them. To-day has been hot, and the reflection from the white quartz and the heated stones was almost insufferable." . . . "Unable to move. When shall I get relief from this dreadful state?" These are just a few casual remarks that I have culled from the Journals in which he wrote down his experiences day by day.

Something ought also to be said of John McDouall Stuart's faith in God. He believed that his life was under Divine control. Here and there in the Journal we see reflections of his faith. Whether or not he was a Christian man in the highest sense of that phrase I am not in a position to say, but out in the vast solitudes of Australia, travelling where foot of white man had never been, he must have been impressed with a sense of the Infinite. On the memorable journey when the centre of the Continent was reached he wrote: "The sky is overcast and I trust that Providence will send us rain in the morning." Again: "About an hour before sundown arrived at the water, without any more losses, for which I sincerely thank God." In the supreme crisis of his life, after the Continent had been traversed and he was returning home, a physical wreck, face to face with death, he wrote: "I sincerely thank the Almighty Disposer of Events that He, in His infinite goodness and mercy, gave me strength and courage . . . and has kindly permitted me to live yet a little longer." The truest, bravest, and most resolute men that South Australia has seen—Edward John Eyre, Captain Charles Sturt, and John McDouall Stuart—were men who believed in an overruling Providence, men who had faith in God. These were the men who, metaphorically speaking, "subdued kingdoms, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."

Stuart rendered signal service not only to South Australia, but to the British Empire. He paved the way for the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line bringing Australia into almost immediate contact with the civilized world. The line has been constructed along the route mapped out by Stuart. It was largely on account of Stuart's discoveries that the British Government extended the boundary of South Australia to the opposite coast of the Continent and put the South Australian Government in charge of the new territory. South Australia thus became one of the largest colonial possessions of the British Crown.

It was Stuart's desire that a colony should be founded on the River Adelaide in the Northern Territory. Said he: "I have no hesitation in saying that the country I have discovered on and around the banks of the Adelaide River is more favourable than any other part of the Continent for the formation of a new colony." In this enterprise he would like to have been a pioneer, but his constitution was shattered—his work was done. Later on the South Australian Government took action in forming a settlement in the Northern Territory, but with this enterprise we cannot now deal.

———————

NOTE.—In a sketch of Stuart's life special mention ought to be made of his second officer, William Darton Kekwick. He was of special service to Stuart, who spoke of him in his Journal in the highest terms. Kekwick came to the colony in 1840. He joined Stuart about the year 1859 and was with him on his most important exploratory trips. On the return journey, after the party had successfully crossed the Continent, Kekwick wrote from Mount Margaret Station as follows:—"You will be very much pleased and gratified to hear of the safe arrival here of all our party. . . . We have been just seventeen weeks coming down from the Indian Ocean. Our return has been one series of hard pushes on account of the extreme dryness of the season, so that our horses are nearly exhausted. Mr. Stuart has been very ill indeed nearly all the way down—quite unable to ride or even to stand without assistance. He has been carried on a stretcher or ambulance from Mount Hay to this place, and will proceed, as fast as he can under the circumstances, to Adelaide." In 1872 Kekwick joined an exploring expedition under Mr. W. C. Gosse, and shortly after the party had left Beltana he was taken ill and died, aged forty-eight years. He was the first of the party to pass away after Stuart's death, and, like the leader, was a magnificent bushman.

THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.



Trinity Church, North Terrace, Adelaide, 1845.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

One of the masterpieces of the New Testament is the story of the two builders. One was wise and the other foolish. Each had a building to erect. The one founded his house upon a rock and the other upon the sand. The testing time came. The clouds gathered and covered the sky. The rain began to fall. Hour after hour it continued. The earth could not absorb the water. The rivulets became rivers and the ponds lakes. The wind blew in fierce gusts. Both structures were exposed to the full force of water and wind. The one house fell not, because it was founded on a rock; the other, having no secure foundation, collapsed and was soon swept away. How true of human experience in all ages. A nation is but an aggregate of individuals, and what is true of individual life is true of national life; it may be founded upon a rock or it may have its basis in sand.

In nation-building righteousness is a necessary factor. Not only is it the foundation upon which a commonwealth must be built, but it is the cement that must hold the superstructure together. When the cement is wanting the nation falls. Sir George Grey has said: "It is adherence to the principles of righteousness that has given to the British people the great and grand position they occupy—such as no other nation has ever held upon earth." All history demonstrates that there is a mysterious Power in the world that makes for righteousness. Its existence is revealed in the fact that "righteousness exalteth a nation," but "sin is a reproach" and a source of weakness to any people.

Sin is always a disintegrating factor. Just as it destroys individual life—body and soul—so it eats away the life of a nation. Of ancient Rome at the time of her collapse an eloquent historian has said: "She may have had wise laws, able administrators, many ingenious expedients against decay, gold to buy barbarian blood, and fortress piled upon fortress by the Danube and the Rhine, but she had not *life*. It was this, and no mere change of policy or external accident, which converted the Empire into a brothel and a slaughter-house in the reign of Nero and Domitian, which brought it to the hammer on the death of Pertinax,

and finally delivered it over as a prey to the bow and the spear of the Ostrogoth and the Lombard." What makes the difference between the British Empire to-day and the Roman Empire of the first century? It is neither civilization, intelligence, nor brute force, but righteousness. The British Constitution is founded upon the Word of God.

Our pioneer builders in South Australia laid a good foundation. They built upon a rock. It could not be said of them: "Thou hast praised the gods of gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, and stone, and the God in whose hand thy breath is and whose are all thy ways, thou hast not glorified." They had respect for the ordinances of religion; they acknowledged God. This they did, be it remembered, in the absence of a State Church or sacrificing priest. We shall see how, in the absence of an ordained minister or ecclesiastical structure, men and women met together for Divine worship. Look again at the picture that in earlier chapters we have painted. See the first emigrants, as soon as they had landed upon Kangaroo Island, gathering round Captain Morgan while he conducted a short service and engaged in prayer. Was not the action prophetic? Shortly after we see them met together for Divine worship in a tabernacle made of boughs, with the "bell" hung in a tree.

The South Australian Company practically founded the colony. It is a remarkable fact that its leading employés who came to help lay the foundations of the colony were Christian men. Its first manager (Samuel Stephens) was a Christian man. As soon as the Company's store was erected it was available for service. Here Samuel East (another employé of the Company) preached the first Methodist sermon in the new land. A barrel was used as a reading desk, and the seats were boxes, casks, and cases. Edward Stephens, the first banker of the Company, was a Christian man, and in his tent at Holdfast Bay, before the city was founded, John C. White preached the first Methodist sermon on the mainland. David McLaren, the second manager of the Company, was a Christian man, and in the absence of a Baptist minister acted in that capacity. William B. Randell, another servant of the Company, was one of the founders of the Baptist Church. William Giles, the third manager, was an earnest Christian—a Congregationalist—and took a deep interest in the spiritual life of the colony. No sectarian was he. James Breeze, also in the service of the Company, was a pioneer Methodist preacher, and so was William Lillecrapp, who came out as manager of the Company's flocks and herds. There must have been some

cause for so general an effect, and one is led to surmise that George Fife Angas, the founder of the Company, must have had some influence in the selection of so many Christian men.

Before an Episcopalian minister reached the colony Divine service in connection with that church was held. In the diary of Mrs. Robert Thomas we read: "Divine service was held for the first time in the rush hut of the principal surveyor. We attended, taking our seats with us; the signal for attending being the firing of a gun."

Ere the first emigrants left the Old Land arrangements were made for establishing a branch of the Episcopalian Church. The first number of *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, published in London, stated that the framework of a church, to seat 750 persons, was in course of preparation, and that £700 had been subscribed toward the expenses of establishing the church.

In the Act founding the colony power was given for the official appointment of chaplains of the Established Churches of England and Scotland. The first Colonial Chaplain, appointed by the Commissioners for the colony, was the Rev. Charles Beaumont Howard, with a salary of £250 a year. He arrived with Governor Hindmarsh in the *Buffalo*. The appointment, so far as the personal character of the chaplain is concerned, was a wise one. Mr. Howard was a man of catholic and gracious spirit.

The first Episcopalian service in the new colony, conducted by the Chaplain, was held under a sail. It was borrowed by Mr. Howard from a captain in the Port. There were no carriers in those days, and how to get the sail transported from the seaboard to the city site was a problem. The zealous minister was equal to the solution. A hand-truck was borrowed. The Colonial Treasurer (Osmond Gilles) [45] was pressed into service. The cleric and his lay associate dragged the sail in triumph across country, a distance of about 7 miles. The first church (Trinity Church) was a reed hut. With his own hands Mr. Howard brought up from the Port part of the material for fencing his church. This meant a wearisome journey over 7 miles of rough country. He has the honour of being the first ordained minister to preach the Gospel in the new Province. In 1840 the Rev. James Farrell came to Mr. Howard's assistance, and in 1847 the first Episcopalian Bishop (Dr. Short) arrived.

[45] It was this pioneer who gave the block of land on which St. John's Church is built. This was in 1839.

The Bishop's "first impressions" indicate the prosperity of South Australia at the time that he arrived. "We find," said he, "civility and intelligence the characteristics of the population to more than an average degree. A more thoroughly English colony does not probably exist. All we want is additional labour. The wages of one day will purchase one and a half bushels of wheat, an amount equal to six days' labour in England. The finest wheat in the world is now selling for 2s. 6d. a bushel, while the wages of a day labourer are 3s. 6d.; mechanics, 7s. Fat cattle are sold at £2 10s. to £3, and sheep are likely soon to be boiled down by the thousand merely for the tallow. Legs of mutton are selling at Gawler Town for 6d. apiece—prime meat. In short, the means of subsistence are abundant, and immigrants by the thousand might be fed and employed most profitably."

In a sketch of the rise of the Anglican Church in South Australia Dean Marryatt should have special mention. He tabernacled with us for many years. Dean Marryatt was a nephew to Bishop Short, whose consecration he witnessed in Westminster Abbey. He was also related to Governor Young. Probably these family relationships led him to turn his attention to South Australia. He came to Adelaide in 1853 as chaplain of an emigrant vessel, and married a daughter of the Rev. Charles Beaumont Howard, the first Colonial Chaplain. After spending some time in Sydney he returned to Adelaide and for a few years was curate of Trinity Church. About the year 1857 he removed to Port Adelaide, where he served the Church for many years. The building in which he first ministered was built high upon piles, the tide coming to its doors. Sometimes, at the end of the service, the congregation would find themselves surrounded by water, and boats had to be called into requisition before they could return home. For many years Dean Marryatt was closely associated with Christ Church, North Adelaide. He passed away on September 29th, 1906.

The foundation-stone of St. Peter's College was laid on May 24th, 1849. The name of Archdeacon Farr will ever be associated with this institution. He was to St. Peter's College very much what Dr. Arnold was to Rugby.

Thomas Quinton Stow, the pioneer Congregational minister, a man of great ability, came out by the ship *Hartley* in October, 1837, the voyage occupying 139 days. [46]

No minister of the Gospel in those days could stand upon his dignity. So far as the social system was concerned learned

[46] Now it can be done in thirty-five days.



Congregational Chapel, 1837.

and illiterate, aristocrat and plebeian, were upon the same footing. In the budding city and its environs kangaroos were more plentiful than horses, and where all were intent upon making homes for themselves hired labour was scarcely possible. Ministers and laymen were cast upon their own resources. If a minister were inspired with the spirit of the psalmist, and would not give "sleep to his eyes nor slumber to his eyelids till he had found out a place for the Lord, a habitation for the mighty God of Jacob," then he would have speedily to set to work and build or help to build it with his own hands. Such was Mr. Stow's experience. After his arrival a tent was erected somewhere near the Torrens, and here the first Congregational service in the new land was held. Governor Hindmarsh formed one of the congregation and was furnished with a box for a seat. A meeting was held in the tent, and eleven persons gave in their names as Church members. Ere long a more substantial church was needed. It was built of pine logs and stood upon North Terrace. It was thatched with reeds, reeds that the pastor had cut with his own hands, and carried from what are known as the Reedbeds to the building. An old lady who, as a young girl, came to the New Settlement in 1838 has described to me this primitive Congregational Church and incidents in connection with it. On the Saturday afternoon in summer Thomas Quinton Stow, with someone to assist him, would carry several vessels down to the Torrens on a long stick and bring up water with which to "water down" the earth-floor for the Sabbath service. No house being available for three months, Mr. Stow and his family lived in a tent. Writing to some friends in England he said: "We are now in our tent at Adelaide, never regretting that we came. Amid all Mrs. Stow's sufferings her mind has never wavered as to the propriety of the step we have taken. . . . Our Church has been formed about two months, consisting of thirteen members and two candidates. We have also begun a Sunday-school, which promises well. The Governor and most of the officials have been to hear me."

To the Colonial Missionary Society in London he wrote: "It was well you allowed us a tent, for no house could be had. The tent was our abode for three months. But a trial of this mode of life for a family convinced us that it could only do as an expedient, and that it ought to be as brief as possible for the sake not only of comfort, but of safety and health. Centipedes crowded into our beds: the white ants ate up our furniture. The glare of the large tent, standing in the blaze of an Australian summer day, aggravated the

ophthalmia to which newcomers are liable. During the hottest day it was all but insupportable, reaching nearly 130 degrees."

In December, 1839, Mr. Stow laid the foundation-stone of a large church to be erected in Gawler-place. It was on a piece of land given by the first Emigration Agent, John Brown, and cost more than £2,000. At the time of its erection it was the largest place of worship in the Province.

One of the pioneers expressed surprise that a man of Mr. Stow's talents should ever have left the Old Country. But the good man was more than satified. Writing to the Missionary Committee which had sent him out he said: "What a land is this to which you have sent me! The loveliness and glory of its plains and woods, its glens and hills! But of these you will hear more from others. I cannot, however, leave it out of my estimate of God's goodness to me." Mr. Stow was one of the ablest and most energetic opponents of State-aid to religion. He died in 1862. A fine church has been erected to his memory.

In connection with the rise of the Congregational Church the Rev. Ridgway Williams Newland deserves special mention. He came to Adelaide in 1839 and took up work at Victor Harbour. Both in relation to things material and spiritual he was a splendid pioneer. His death in 1864 was the result of an accident. A memorial church at Victor Harbour bears his name.

This is a fitting place in which to put the picture of a Congregational country service in early times as painted by a pioneer. "A barn-like building; the thatch the only ceiling; broad square windows letting in the sunshine to waken sleepers, and a very shaky deal structure called a pulpit. There were two square pews with doors which were thought much of by the two families who sat in them. Two benches with arms and backs, occupied by families, came next in honour, while ordinary folk sat on slabs of wood propped up on bricks. At one time a sofa-bedstead and at another a chest of drawers with a saddle on the top were kept in the church. But if the place was primitive the people were also—the drone of the singing, the waving of the peppermint gum branches to keep away the flies, the minister's little boy on the pulpit steps catching flies by the dozen, the old-fashioned toilets, and the dogs. Very cheerful chat used to go on outside the door before and after the service, and sometimes dinner was taken there, so that the folk might be ready for school in the afternoon. The children were marvels of unknowing freshness. Upon a teacher showing a picture to a

little boy in the Sunday-school of a man cutting down a tree the child examined it with the keenest interest and said: 'I reckon he'll have it down by next Sunday.'"

There was no Baptist minister in Adelaide in the early years. David McLaren officiated. At the end of 1840 a Mr. Collison was acting as preacher. There were fifty-four persons in communion with the Church. They met in a little building in Hindley Street that had been vacated by the Methodists.

In *The Register* for 1840 a "Scotchman" drew attention to the circumstance that there was no minister of the Scotch Church in the new Province. He asked: "Why should this Church, founded by Knox and the other worthies of the Reformation, cemented by the blood of many martyrs, be forgotten or deserted by Scotchmen in South Australia?" The writer must have been referring to what is known as the Established Church of Scotland. The United Presbyterian Church was already represented. The pioneer minister of that Church (Rev. Ralph Drummond) had arrived in 1839. At first he erected a building in Angas Street, where he held services, and on November 30th, 1840, he laid the foundation-stone of the first Presbyterian Church in the new colony. The church was erected in Gouger Street. The Rev. Ralph Drummond reached fourscore years and died at Mitcham on April 26th, 1872.

The earliest reference to the Roman Catholic Church that I have been able to find is in *The Register* for October, 1838. The Catholics of South Australia were requested to meet at the residence of Mr. Phillips, East Terrace, Adelaide, in order to make final arrangements for the establishment of a mission in the colony.

Apparently the first official of the Roman Catholic Church to visit Adelaide was Dr. Ullathorne (Vicar-General of Australia). This was in 1839. Speaking of this circumstance in his biography Dr. Ullathorne says: "When we landed at Adelaide (a few miles from the Port) the city was in the fourth year from its foundation. Like the old Etruscan cities, it had been regularly laid out from the first in a square. The straight streets were (many of them) only marked out by rough roads and chippings on the trees: the houses were, here and there, not brought into line. I was hospitably received by Mr. and Mrs. Phillips and their family, whose house, beautifully situated, looked over the great level plain, rich with grass and most beautiful flowers, upon the precipitous range of Mount Lofty." Dr. Ullathorne held service in the little city in a china shop. He

says: "I puzzled my friends in Sydney by telling them that the streets in Adelaide were fitter for the study of astronomy than for commerce. The fact was that miles of newly marked out streets were unmade, and after heavy Australian rain were full of pools of water, through which my good hostess waded to the china shop for evening service, and in which the brilliant stars of the Southern Hemisphere were reflected."

The first priest to come to South Australia was the Rev. J. Benson. This was in 1841. The house occupied by Mr. Phillips was taken by the committee and fitted up as a temporary chapel. After remaining two or three years in the colony the Rev. J. Benson went to Sydney and then to England, dying at Wolverhampton in 1868, aged seventy-three years.

When Adelaide became an Episcopal See in 1842 Dr. Ullathorne was offered the Bishopric, but did not accept it. Dr. Murphy was appointed. He took charge in 1844. It was during this year that the first Roman Catholic Church in the colony was erected; this was St. Mary's at Morphett Vale. Bishop Murphy died April 26th, 1858, and the Roman Catholic Cathedral was opened on June 11th of the same year.

There is a good story told of Bishop Murphy and Dr. Backhaus. Both of them were near-sighted. Coming from Government House, North Terrace, on one occasion they were lost in Wakefield Street, and had to "cooee" for assistance before they could find their way home.

The Lutheran Church in the new settlement was founded as the result of persecution. It was in November, 1838, that Pastor Kavel arrived with the first batch of German refugees. The story of their emigration has been told in a previous chapter.

The founding of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in South Australia has many elements of romance. One of the pioneer lay preachers kept a diary. Many items of interest have been put upon record in magazines and papers, consequently there is much material at hand out of which one could weave a most interesting story.

The constitution of that Church is such as to favour extension. It has two orders of preachers—lay and ministerial. Both take an active part not only in preaching the Gospel, but in the government of the Church. The lay preacher is perfectly familiar with the polity of the Church, and knows how to put it into practice. This makes it possible for a lay preacher in the absence of a minister to gather men and

women together for Divine worship and to constitute a Church. Such a possibility was of great advantage not only to the Methodist Church, but to many of the pioneers who founded South Australia.

Among the early emigrants were some Methodist lay preachers. The first of them to preach within the boundaries of the new Province was Samuel East. He arrived in the *Africaine* in November, 1836, before the proclamatiin of the colony, and conducted service upon Kangaroo Island.

The first to preach upon the mainland was John C. White, who had been a lay preacher in one of the London districts. We have already spoken of Edward Stephens, the pioneer banker. By the second Sunday after his arrival (about January 19th, 1837) Mr. Stephens had a large tent erected among the trees at Holdfast Bay. In this John C. White was invited to preach.

The services at Kangaroo Island and Holdfast Bay were temporary. The settlers were located there only till the site for the city had been fixed and the land surveyed. When this was done, as we have seen, there was a general exodus to the site chosen for the city.

Edward Stephens migrated from the shores of Holdfast Bay to the banks of the Torrens. A wooden house was speedily erected. It stood near the present House of Parliament. In the kitchen of this house the pioneer Methodists met for conversation and prayer. They felt that they must be doing something, and began to hold open-air services on the banks of the Torrens, near a series of huts termed "Buffalo Row." A room was also hired in which they began to preach. Here they were assisted by David McLaren. They were without an ordained minister, but thought they ought to form a Church. An announcement was made that all who desired to unite in Church fellowship should meet in the hut of Mr. John White. Fifteen persons attended and gave in their names as members. The society grew. A church was now necessary. Toward its erection some of the pioneers gave labour and some gave money. It was the first stone church erected in the New Settlement, and stood in Hindley Street near the spot where the Eagle Tavern now stands. Here lay preachers regularly conducted service. But they sadly needed, as one of the pioneers said, "a pastor to lead and to guide." They made their position a matter of prayer, and the answer came in a most unexpected manner.

A Methodist minister (the Rev. William Longbottom), with wife and child, was on his way from Van Diemen's Land to King George's Sound. Along the Australian coast terrific

weather is sometimes experienced. It was so on this occasion. The vessel (the *Fanny*) had not cleared Van Diemen's Land before rough weather set in. Twice she put back for shelter. For a time fine weather was experienced. On Sunday, June 17th, 1838, the wind blew a perfect hurricane. On the following Thursday the water changed colour and soundings were taken. The captain not being able to take observations for several days, and not knowing how near the vessel had driven to land, thought she was passing over a sand-bar. It was now about 9 o'clock at night. Having had no rest for several nights Mr. Longbottom and wife tried to get a little sleep. About half-past one in the morning the sea broke on board in all directions. The captain found himself in only 7 fathoms of water. All attempts to sail were fruitless. The vessel struck. "About 1 o'clock," Mrs. Longbottom says, "I was aroused by an unusual rolling of the vessel. Instantly I told my husband that I was sure we were in the surf. After a moment he was convinced that my fears were too well grounded, and throwing on his rough jacket was in the act of reaching his cap to go on deck when the vessel struck. No time was to be lost. Providentially we had lain down in our clothes. I hurried on little William's shoes and cap, and after commending ourselves to God we endeavoured to get on deck. We found the hatches down, and it was some time before we could make those on deck hear. When we did get out an awful scene was before us."

At times the party were up to their waists in water. The captain ascended the rigging, and in the darkness saw a low dark ridge. It was land. In her diary Mrs. Longbottom proceeds: "The sailors cut away the boat, but it drifted away the moment it was lowered. The captain had swum ashore with a rope. He lost his hold and was unable to return. At length a sailor succeeded in reaching shore with a rope, which he made fast and then returned to render us assistance. We put our dear boy over the side of the vessel first; the men handed him to the captain, who carried him through the surf. It was now my turn, but I had not the courage to jump overboard when the surf receded, and Mr. Longbottom was obliged to push me off. I lost my hold of the rope, and was several minutes under water. We were mercifully preserved, and all got safely through that dreadful surf. All went behind a sandbank and lay down among the bushes to await the morning light. We were dreadfully cold, being in our wet clothes and unable to make a fire." The cold must have been intense. In addition to wet clothes it was winter-time, and one of the coldest months of the Australian year.

The day after the shipwreck a party of blacks came upon the scene. It was doubtless with mingled feelings that the shipwrecked people saw them approach. What was their intentions—friendly or hostile? Did their advent mean life or death? Their fears were soon set at rest. The natives brought a fire-stick, created a fire, and pointed out their waterholes.

Strange to relate, the same tribe of natives which showed such kindness to this shipwrecked party was the tribe which two years afterwards brutally murdered the crew and passengers of the ill-fated *Maria*, to which we have referred. The murder took place not far from the spot where Mr. and Mrs. Longbottom were wrecked. For about seven weeks the party were at the mercy of the blacks.

The day after the visit of the natives being Sunday a little service was held, in which the shipwrecked people gave thanks to God for preservation from a watery grave.

The captain decided that the better plan would be to attempt to find a way to some station overland. Mrs. Longbottom says: "We had no alternative but either to accompany the ship's party or be left behind in the bush. Mr. Longbottom prepared for our departure by packing up a pair of blankets, a few biscuits, and a little wine and water, and we 'set out, not knowing whither we went.' But sleeping on the damp ground, together with struggling so long in the surf, had made me stiff and brought on such rheumatism that I could scarcely walk at all. I dragged on about 5 miles when I could go no farther. After resting a few hours Mr. Longbottom proposed that we should all return to the tent and endeavour to gain fuller knowledge of our situation and prepare ourselves better for travelling. I believe that it was the Spirit of God that dictated this proposal, for all agreed to it and immediately prepared to return. I walked back in much pain, and about midnight we arrived at the tent and found everything just as we left it."

A quantity of provisions had been obtained from the wreck and the dinghy had drifted ashore. Captain Gill then set to work to lengthen and repair it. About half a mile inland the shipwrecked party discovered a lagoon. It appeared to run parellel with the beach. It was what is now known as the Coorong, connected with the River Murray. On this sheet of water Captain Gill hoped to set sail.

One day as the captain and men were labouring at the dinghy they met with a strange surprise. A few white men were seen coming down the coast in the direction of the wreck. They proved to be companions in misfortune.

Another vessel (the *Elizabeth*) had been wrecked about 50 miles eastward. The leg-weary travellers were the ship-wrecked captain and crew. Although met together under unfortunate circumstances it was "Hail, fellow! Well met!" Captain Tindall, of the *Elizabeth*, had with him both chart and compass. This was a great comfort, as Mr. and Mrs. Longbottom and party now knew in what direction to travel for the new settlement on the south coast of Australia. The two captains laboured together, and soon the dinghy was finished. It was too small to carry the whole party. The captains decided to leave the missionary, wife and child, and three sailors in the bush while they and some of the sailors made for Encounter Bay At this place there was a whaling station, and they hoped to get a larger boat in which to tranship the whole party. They set sail on the Coorong. Steering westward they reached the mouth of the Murray, not far distant from the fishery at Encounter Bay.

In the letter describing their experiences Mrs. Long-bottom says: "During the absence of the party was truly an anxious time. We felt that should any disaster befall them or the boat so that we could not return we had no human means left of ever getting away. However, in less than a week two of the men returned with the joyful intelligence that they had been to Encounter Bay, and that the captain would be up in two days with a large whaleboat for us. We waited several days after the time appointed, but seeing no captain or boat we started in the little boat, taking with us our blankets, a change of linen for each of us, and a small case containing a few of my husband's most valuable papers, with a supply of provisions. We left the bush on August 7th, having spent forty-five days from the time of our wreck in a state of great anxiety and suspense. It was a beautiful day when we started. The men rowed, Mr. Longbottom steered, and I bailed out the water. Being a fine moonlight night we kept on till midnight, when we hauled up, but could not land. We were obliged to sit in the boat all night. It was dreadfully cold and a very heavy dew; but mercifully we took no cold, though without any shelter and the boat very leaky. At daybreak we set off again, and about 10 o'clock met the captain with a large boat. We changed boats, and about 1 o'clock crossed the Murray River. Here we landed and stayed until sunset, when we again set sail in the boat."

Eventually the party reached Encounter Bay. Here they were kindly entertained by Captain Wright and his good lady. The whole trip was indeed providential. To

reach Encounter Bay they had to cross the mouth of the Murray. This was attended by risk. It was in an attempt to negotiate the mouth of the Murray that Sir John Jeffcott and Captain Blenkinsopp lost their lives. This was not many months before Captain Gill, with his precious cargo, crossed it. "We did not ship," said he, "a spoonful of water."

Captain Tindall travelled overland from Encounter Bay to the little settlement on the banks of the Torrens, carrying with him tidings of the wreck of the *Elizabeth* and the *Fanny*. The pioneer Methodists heard that among the shipwrecked party was a Methodist minister with a wife and child. Edward Stephens soon opened up communication with the minister and family, requesting them to come to Adelaide and offering them a home and every assistance in his power. He came, and by these strange means the pioneer Methodist Church received its minister.

In the founding of the Methodist Church in South Australia Pastor Jacob Abbott took a prominent part. He was a pioneer who deserves special mention. Jacob Abbott came to our Province by the *John Renwick* in the early part of 1837 and conducted the first class meeting in connection with the Methodist Church in South Australia. It was held in a hut on the banks of the Torrens before Adelaide was laid out.

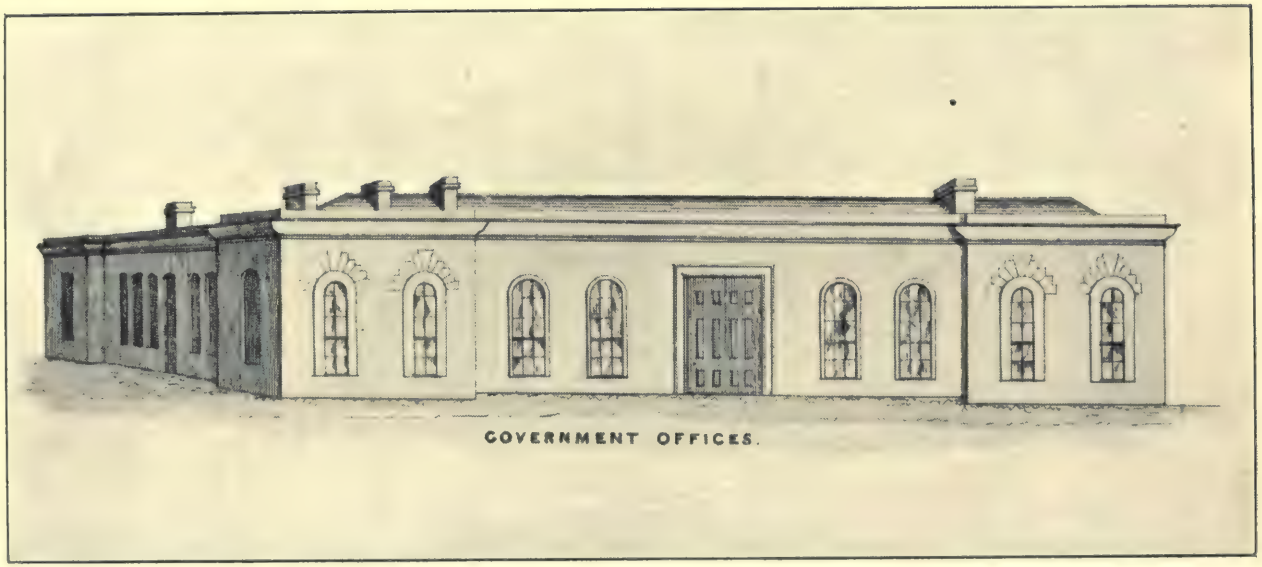
Prior to the organic union of all the Methodist Churches in South Australia there were two denominations that did much to mould the spiritual life of the community. One of these—the Primitive Methodist Church—was founded in South Australia in the year 1840, services being held in the house of Mr. John Wiltshire, in the City of Adelaide. The Bible Christian Connexion was established in 1849. In 1850 the Rev. James Way (father of the Right Hon. Sir Samuel J. Way, Bart.) and James Rowe landed in South Australia, and for many years did splendid work over a large area of the colony by ministering to the spiritual needs of the people.

John Barton Hack was a very useful pioneer. Writing in London before the actual birth of our State Robert Gouger said: "Mr. Barton Hack, a Quaker, called to say he had some friends, persons of capital, desirous to emigrate. He appears to be a highly respectable man and is well connected." He did emigrate to South Australia in 1837. Mr. Hack was a pioneer agriculturist and contractor, one of the Committee which named the streets of Adelaide, and took a deep and prominent interest in the founding of the Province. He died October 4th, 1884. Barton Terrace, North Adelaide,

bears his name. It was this pioneer who was a leading spirit in establishing the Society of Friends in South Australia. They met in his house in Hindley Street. About the year 1840 he gave a valuable allotment of land on Pennington Terrace, on which a meeting-house for the Friends was erected.

In 1844 the adherents of the Jewish faith assembled in Currie Street. The Synagogue was erected in 1850.

AN ERA OF MATERIAL PROSPERITY.



GOVERNMENT OFFICES, KING WILLIAM STREET, IN PIONEER TIMES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AN ERA OF MATERIAL PROSPERITY.

A Progressive Era. Such indeed may be said of the period covered by Governor MacDonnell's administration. The foundation of such was laid in Governor Young's time, but it was his successor who reaped the benefit; one sowed the seed, the other reaped the harvest.

Before we deal with the material progress of the period under review reference must be made to two or three interesting incidents that made some stir among the early settlers. One of these is what was known as "The Cathedral Acre Case." In 1843 the Adelaide Corporation came to an end and for a time municipal matters apparently were allowed to drift. Meanwhile Governor Robe gave to the Bishop of the Anglican Church an acre of land in the centre of Victoria Square upon which to build a cathedral. Stones were laid down to indicate the boundaries of the acre, and in the plans of the city the figure of a church was shown in Victoria Square. A few years passed by, during which the legality of the gift was not disputed. At length the citizens woke up in relation to the matter, and Governor Robe's right to grant a part of Victoria Square for ecclesiastical purposes was challenged. The case came before the Chief Justice, Mr. Charles Cooper (afterwards Sir Charles), and continued about two days, when the finding was against the Bishop's claim. The verdict of the special jury was that Victoria Square, from the foundation of the Province, had been set apart for the use and recreation of the public. Consequently it was not waste land within the meaning of the Act when Governor Robe made the grant of one acre of it to the Bishop.

In Governor MacDonnell's time there was a "servant-girl difficulty," very different from that which obtains to-day. During the year 1855 about 2,800 single women, mostly Irish, were landed in South Australia. The supply was greater than the demand. What to do with these immigrants was a serious and much-debated problem. They were thrown upon the hands of the Government, and some of them gave the authorities great trouble. Ultimately depots were established in various country towns to which these immigrants were sent, and in this way their services were distributed throughout the colony.

Means of Transit.

Population in South Australia was increasing; settlement was extending; what a young and growing country needs is means of transit. Our railway system was born during Governor Young's administration. The first line laid down was that to Port Adelaide. To the pioneers railway construction was a new experience, and in laying down the first line there were serious mistakes. It cost about £25,000 a mile.

Sacred history tells of a small city that did not contain many people. It found itself in difficulties. In that city there was a man who though poor was wise. He took the position in at a glance and provided for the citizens a way out of their difficulty. "Yet no man," so the historian adds, "remembered that poor man."

In relation to the development of our State history must not repeat itself. Honour should be given to those to whom it is due. In connection with the laying down of the Port line the pioneers were in a difficulty; this was more especially in the construction of the critical parts of the permanent-way. Among the immigrants who arrived about the time the railway was being constructed was a man who, in addition to native mechanical genius, had helped to lay down some of the lines in the Old Land. As the work was proceeding his keen eye saw the faults in its construction. "It will not work," said he. And his statement proved to be true. The plate-laying was put under his control; he was given a free hand; faulty work was taken up and the defects remedied. In a short time the train to the Port was safely and merrily running. The man who came to the rescue was Mr. Isaac Puddy, who passed away on November 9th, 1905, at Barton Terrace, North Adelaide. He was made Superintendent and Inspector of the Permanent-way, a position which he held with credit for many years. Several of the lines in the colony were laid down under his direction. He was a perfect master of the practical part of plate-laying. But I find that while the engineer was remembered at the banquet in connection with the opening of the Port railway the man who had come to the engineer's assistance, and who had made the running possible, was forgotten.

The formal opening of the Port railway took place on April 19th, 1856. One hundred and fifty tickets were issued of the value of one guinea each. This entitled the purchaser to travel by a special train to and from the Port and to sit down at a banquet spread in the large room of the South Australian Company's store, McLaren's Wharf.

At 2 o'clock "a large and fashionable company," representing "the wealth, beauty, and talent of Adelaide,"

assembled, so the pioneer Press said. Alfred Watts, M.L.C., occupied the chair. Dean Farrell was called upon to say grace; then the company, "nothing loth," set-to in real earnest to enjoy the good things placed before them. Dean Farrell returned thanks and invoked a blessing upon the colony, the company, and the enterprise that day inaugurated. In passing, the question may be asked: Why was this commendable practice allowed to become obsolete?

After the banquet came the speeches. The construction of the Port railway was another epoch-making event in the Commonwealth which the pioneers were building. The fact had due emphasis and recognition.

In the course of his remarks Governor MacDonnell said: "This seems not an unfit occasion to take a retrospective glance at what has been already effected in the immediate neighbourhood of this room. I recently read a description by a lady of her landing at Port Adelaide in Governor Hindmarsh's time, not yet twenty years ago. She tells how she landed on the marsh and was carried through the mud and mosquitoes in the arms of the boatmen, and then describes the muddy track to Adelaide, miscalled a road, strewn with pianos, ploughs, children's cots, etc., there being at the time no sufficient means of transport from the Port to the city. The description is as graphic, I have been told by an old settler, as it is correct. It might be a source of honest pride to many of those here assembled, who helped to bring about the improved state of things, to meet this day on such an auspicious occasion. What a change has come over the country since the time to which that lady's description referred—a change mainly owing to the exertions and sturdy will of the earlier colonists, men who had achieved much and who have left an example destined to achieve much more."

The Governor delivered a long and able speech. He was followed by pioneers whose names will ever stand prominently out in the founding of our State:—John Morphett, James Hurtle Fisher, Charles Simeon Hare, Benjamin Babbage, John Baker, William Younghusband, William Giles, and Samuel Davenport.

The Gawler railway, which was constructed much more cheaply than that leading to the Port, was opened on October 5th, 1857. Some 800 or 900 persons travelled on the line. Hundreds of immigrants gathered at the station to catch a glimpse of the longest train ever moved by steam in South Australia. The carriages were decked with flags and banners and the engine covered with flowers; there was also a brass band located in one of the carriages. The only mishap

during the day was the burning of the Union Jack on the roof of one of the carriages, caused by a spark from the engine.

The opening of the railway to Kapunda took place on August 13th, 1860. This was another festive event in the experience of the early settlers. To us the construction of a railway is a somewhat tame and matter of fact event. Not so to the first generation of settlers who came to found the Province. They felt all the buoyancy of youth. They knew that great things had been made possible to them, and felt a thrill of exultation as they saw the possible become actual. The pioneers had come to South Australia to make homes for themselves and their children, to subdue the wilderness, to build up a new British Commonwealth. They were very conscious of the progress they were making, and were justly proud of their national achievements. When a new departure was taken and carried to a successful issue they rose to the occasion. The enthusiasm was unbounded. Though many years may have passed since the event recorded took place, in taking up the old report to-day and reading it one instinctively feels the flush of pride with which it was written and the flow of spirit. Some of those reports were graphically worded. In connection with the opening of the railway to Kapunda we are told that "the Adelaide Railway Station never presented a more crowded and brilliant appearance." The Governor-in-Chief (Sir Richard MacDonnell) and his party were present. The Chief Secretary was there, as well as the members of the Ministry. Sir James Hurtle Fisher and the representatives of the two Houses of Parliament came to do honour to the occasion. The Mayor and Corporation of Adelaide and "a large gathering of persons not distinguished in political life, but of the first respectability in society," gave tone and pomp to the proceedings. The "gentlemen were accompanied by ladies," and "altogether they formed a most brilliant assemblage." The train, with ten carriages quite full, started from Adelaide at 10.30 a.m. The stations along the line were gaily decorated, and at each stopping-place a number of settlers gathered to see the train come and go. The "display of flags, evergreens, flowers, and people in holiday attire at so many points" gave "great animation to the scene." At Kapunda an address was presented to the Governor by Mr. William Oldham. A "splendid banquet" was also laid at the North Kapunda Hotel, at which John T. Bagot, M.P., presided.

On January 18th, 1861, Governor MacDonnell turned the first sod of the Kadina railway. This was a line of rail

from Port Wallaroo to Kadina constructed by private enterprise and sanctioned by Act of Parliament. In the Act authorizing the construction of the railway by private enterprise permission was also given to build a jetty.

Mining.

In our chapter on "Consolidation and Extension" we saw the discovery of the Kapunda and Burra Mines. This was at a most opportune time, when the colony had been passing through a period of unparalleled adversity. It is so singular as to be noteworthy that the next great discovery of mineral wealth was also in a time of great depression. I refer to the mines on Yorke's Peninsula.

The Wallaroo Mine, like that of the Burra, was discovered by a shepherd. The whole district proved to be wonderfully rich in minerals. In a short time about 650 mineral claims were taken out on Yorke's Peninsula. Previous to the discovery of these mines the population had consisted of Captain W. W. Hughes, his family, and a few shepherds. Shortly after the discovery the population was reckoned by thousands, and two townships soon sprang into existence.

The finding of the famous Moonta Mines added largely to the wealth and population of the colony.

In his work on "The Mines of South Australia" (1863) J. B. Austin, speaking of the Moonta Mines, said: "During twenty months, since the commencement of the workings, 8,000 tons of ore, averaging nearly 25 per cent. of pure copper, had been raised, and at such a comparatively small cost as to enable two dividends of £10 per share to be declared, amounting to £64,000."

For the year 1862 mineral wealth to the extent of about £560,000 was realized in the Province.

Other Improvements.

In 1856 a new bridge was built over the Torrens costing more than £22,000.

In 1857 the parklands were fenced in and a portion of them planted. Approaches to the city were also improved.

In 1858 the Glenelg jetty was in course of construction.

The new Exhibition Building was erected and used for the first time for the February Show in 1860. Some of the settlers thought that the change from a canvas pavilion to a brick and stone structure would interfere with the success of the Show. Such, however, was not the case. The receipts for entrance amounted to £167.

Political and Intellectual Progress.

The Real Property Act.

One of the most important events that happened during the year 1858 was the passing of the Torrens Real Property Act. This was an Act to simplify the transfer of real property, and in more senses than one was epoch-making. Harcus, in his "Handbook of South Australia," says that it so simplified the law "that any man of intelligence can do all that is necessary for himself when once his property is brought under the Act." The legal profession was up in arms against the measure, but Robert Torrens heroically stood by it and safely piloted it through. Said he: "I am willing to be expended —worn out in the work—for I believe it worthy: and I will not desert it until success has been achieved. I am willing to work to the last of my strength in any cause which I know to be good." The colonists demanded the Act. A candidate for Parliamentary honours had a poor chance of success unless he declared in favour of it. In 1858 the Bill received Royal assent. The best argument in its favour is the fact that shortly after it became law property was brought under it to the value of a million pounds.

Education.

The Education Act of 1851, referred to in our chapter on "Some Useful Legislation," met the needs of the community for a long while. At the time at which it was passed it was a very up-to-date measure.

The pioneers were alive to the importance of education, as the following figures will show. During the year in which the Education Act was passed (1851) the Government spent for educational purposes £3,310. After this there was a gradual increase for each year till 1859, when the cost of education to the Government for that year was £18,224. In nine years, dating from 1851, the Government spent £96,395 on education. The figures, although large for a community only twenty-three years of age, do not by any means represent the total expenditure by the community on education. Parents at that time (except in cases of poverty) had to pay for the education of their children, and there were schools other than those that received the Government grant.

In 1861 the Government brought in a Bill to amend the Education Act of 1851. The aim of the Bill was "to establish and to maintain a good secular education, based on the Christian religion, apart from all controversial differences." It was specially stated that "no attempt should be made to

influence or disturb the peculiar tenets of any religious sect." The schools were to be maintained on the self-supporting principle by periodical payment of school fees. No books were to be supplied gratuitously except in the case of destitute children. These were to have books and education free of cost. The minimum salary of a teacher was to be £30 per year; the maximum £80. These amounts were exclusive of school fees or grants from corporations, district councils, or private persons. These were at liberty to supplement the salary of a teacher if they felt so disposed. There was to be a Central Board of Education not to exceed seven persons, to be nominated by the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council. The Board was to control the Education Department, and the members composing it were to receive one guinea each for every sitting, and the Board was not to meet oftener than once a month. The grant, as a rule, was to be given only to schools in thinly-populated districts. That was the framework of our proposed second Education Bill, the aim of which was to withdraw aid from the schools in large centres of population (except charity schools) and to make education more dependent upon local effort.

It did not meet with the approval of the Roman Catholic section of the community. An influential meeting was held at the church on West Terrace, and a petition was drawn up complaining that the Bible was to be read in the schools supported by the Government, and asking that State-aid to education should be abolished. In addition to this Patrick Boyce Coglin, M.P., introduced a motion into Parliament in support of the request made in the petition.

After the Bill had passed its second reading it was referred to a Select Committee. The Committee recommended that no change should be made at present. It did not approve of the withdrawal of the grant from schools in centres of population, and suggested that arrangements should be made for preventing people in good circumstances availing themselves of the monetary advantages of the Education Act. In order to effect this the schoolmaster might be allowed to charge such persons higher school fees. School districts might be formed giving to the people within the district power to levy rates for educational purposes, and to elect three or more persons to expend the rates under the general control of the Education Board.

Neither the proposed Bill nor the suggestions of the Select Committee met the demands of the case, and the matter was allowed to drop.

Some changes, however, were made in the Education Act of 1851. The following resolution was carried:—"That in the opinion of this House the grant-in-aid of education should be allowed only in respect to schools in which the ordinary branches of education are taught, at a fee not exceeding 1s. per week, and that in towns consisting of more than 1,000 inhabitants an average attendance of forty scholars would be deemed essential to constitute a school eligible to receive a grant." Mr. Bakewell, M.P., in supporting the resolution, said: "Government aid should be withdrawn from education except in cases of destitute children. Parents had no more right to expect the Government to pay for their children's education than they had to expect the Government to pay for their clothes." We have travelled a long way in our system of national education since those words were spoken.

Competitive Examinations.

Governor MacDonnell took a deep interest in all that made for the mental, moral, and material welfare of the settlers. He knew by experience the value of the higher branches of education. It was mostly through his influence and exertions that a system of competitive examinations for academic honours was instituted. This was in the year 1860. At that time South Australia was only twenty-four years of age; too young to establish a university. But Governor MacDonnell initiated a scheme akin to our University examinations to-day.

A committee was formed of which John Howard Clark was secretary. Each intending candidate had to forward his name and address in full, stating the day and year of his birth, the length of time he had lived in the colony, the school he had last attended, and the subjects in which he wished to be examined. So interested was the Governor in the movement that he offered the use of some of the rooms at Government House for the occasion. In these apartments ample provision was made for the comfort of both candidates and examiners.

This was another new departure in the State that our fathers were creating, and thoughtful men took great interest in it. It was not sufficient that roads should be made, bridges constructed, and lines of railway laid down. Mind and spirit, as well as material resources, needed development. Our fathers recognized the fact. In support of these examinations Parliament voted £200.

On Monday, May 7th, 1860, candidates had to present themselves at Government House at 10 o'clock. The first class was examined in Homer by His Excellency the Governor and in Xenophon by the Rev. C. W. Evan. Only two, Messrs. Stuckey and Pitcher, sat for this examination. The second class was examined in Latin by His Honor Sir Charles Cooper. Six boys enlisted for this examination. The third class was examined in Latin grammar, in translations from Eutropius, by Dr. Wyatt. Twenty-seven lads entered for this competition. Francis Stacker Dutton examined a class in French. Among other examiners were Boyle Travers Finniss, Dr. Moore, and the Rev. John Gardner. The examination extended over several days. The first prize in the first class was secured by J. J. Stuckey, value £30. The first prize in the second class was obtained by J. DeQ. Robin, value £25. The first prize in the third class fell to C. H. Bagot, value £20.

The result was so creditable to the candidates and so satisfactory to the gentlemen who had initiated the scheme that they decided to repeat the experiment in 1861, when in addition to the Government grant prizes were to be offered by public-spirited colonists.

Electric Telegraphy.

In founding a new State means of communication as well as of transit are imperatively needed. In 1855 the pioneers turned their attention to electric telegraphy. In February, 1856, the telegraph line to Port Adelaide was opened. Two months later the line to Gawler was available.

On August 9th, 1857, Governor MacDonnell attached the first wire of the intercolonial telegraph line to its bearings. This was in front of the old General Post Office, at the corner of Franklin and King William Streets. "Insignificant," said the Governor, "as the little wire appeared, yet along it the hopes, the fears, the wishes of many thousands, as well as the countless wants of business and commerce, would he hoped ere long be safely transmitted to the adjoining colonies. This would lead to the linking closer than ever of those whose similarity of race and of kindred institutions ought to lead to a most intimate and friendly union."

Water Supply.

To every community a good water supply is of supreme importance. We to-day cannot adequately realize what our fathers and mothers suffered from an inadequate and impure supply of water. Taking a backward glance what do we see

in summer in pioneer times? A succession of water-carts passing through the rough and dusty streets of the primitive city. They are on their way to the Torrens. This, in summer time, was merely a succession of pools. It was from these that the water supply for Adelaide and the suburbs had to be dipped. It was carted to the homes of the immigrants for 1s. 6d. or 3s. a load, and then stored in buckets, tubs, barrels, or tanks. In the river the water at times must have been dirty and impregnated with injurious matter. In the homes of the people it was exposed to contamination from various sources. There was no public bath for the early immigrants and no water pressure in case of fire. Some improvement was sorely needed. The Government took the matter up and in June, 1856, a Waterworks and Drainage Bill passed the Legislature, the outlay being estimated at £280,000. The water was to be stored at Thorndon Park and about 8,000 gallons were to be supplied daily. The expense was so great that the drainage part of the scheme had to be abandoned. The water was laid on to the houses about the beginning of the year 1861. Of course the settlers had to pay for the privilege, but a good water supply was one of the greatest boons that had been conferred upon the community. During the year 1861 drinking fountains were erected in various parts of the city.

Literature.

The South Australian *Advertiser* was established in 1858.

The pioneers, while loyal to the National Anthem, felt the need of an Australian national song. In October, 1859, a prize of ten guineas was offered by the Gawler Institute for the best Song of Australia. It was awarded to Mrs. E. J. Carleton. There were ninety-three competitors. Later another prize of ten guineas was awarded to Herr Linger for the best musical setting to the Song of Australia.

Some Minor Notes.

It is a noteworthy fact that with material progress there comes poverty. About the year 1859 (prior to the discovery of the mineral wealth on Yorke's Peninsula) there was destitution among the working classes of South Australia. It was attributed largely to absenteeism and free immigration. A South Australian Political Association was founded in 1859 with John Clark as President. The platform of the Association was as follows:—"We believe the time has now arrived when immigration at the public expense should cease. We believe that property should never be considered in com-

parison with manhood; that the happiness and well-being of the mass is paramount to the aggrandizement of the few. We believe that all citizens should have equal rights. We believe that members of the Legislative Assembly should be paid. We believe that all land alienated from the Crown and unimproved should be taxed. We believe in law reform. We believe the Press should be free and unshackled." The wording of the platform may remind one of the Tooley Street tailors, but the Association became a very vigorous and effective one. John Clark was no commonplace political agitator. This Political Association (with its branches) was the precursor of the great Labour organizations with which we are familiar to-day. One of its objects was to seek the return of men to Parliament whose views upon questions affecting the public interest were identical with those held by members of the Association. It was proposed that no candidate should receive the support of the Association who was not in favour of the Torrens Real Property Act and a tax upon absentees. It was also suggested that the £20,000 that had been voted for immigration should be devoted to public works. A deputation of working men waited upon Governor MacDonnell, asking that the money might be used in the way indicated. Sir Richard's reply was that when a colony required people he never knew immigration, well conducted, to interfere with legitimate wages. The influx of labour, however, unattended by capital, was not exactly the way to promote a healthy and prosperous state of things. As the elections were about to take place he suggested that public opinion on the matter might be influenced. He did not like to see a tendency on the part of the working men to cling round the Government instead of relying on their own stout hearts and arms.

During the early part of the year 1859 the colony suffered much from solar heat and from fires. There were disastrous fires at Talunga, Cox's Creek, Macclesfield, and Strathalbyn. The damage done was estimated at £20,000. Throughout the colony subscriptions on behalf of the sufferers were solicited and about £4,256 was raised.

Not only did our young colony suffer in the year 1859 from fire, but from water. The wreck of the *Admella* brought sadness into many hearts and homes. The *Admella* was a fine new steamship for trading purposes between Adelaide and Melbourne. The name of the steamer was suggested by the first syllables of the two names, Adelaide and Melbourne. She left Adelaide for Melbourne on Friday, August 5th, with more than a hundred persons on board.

There were a number of sporting men on the steamer and six racehorses. These were on their way to the Victorian races. It was thought by some and denied by others that an accident to one of the racehorses was indirectly the cause of the disaster. The racehorse "Jupiter" fell on his back in the box, and the ship was steadied with her head up to the sea till he could be put on his feet again. Some were of opinion that this put the *Admella* out of her course. Officially the wreck was attributed to a strong ocean current. Early on Saturday morning, before the day broke, and with indications of a coming storm, she struck on Carpenter's Reef, some distance from Cape Northumberland. Soon she broke into three parts. At daylight the ship's lifeboat was seen adrift, caught in some wreckage. A gallant young Dane (Soren Holm) volunteered to swim to her with a rope. One disaster after another overtook the unfortunate passengers. The rope carried by the young Dane to the lifeboat parted; away she drifted with her solitary passenger. Sometimes the current carried him inshore, at other times out to sea. He made heroic efforts to get the lifeboat to the wreck, but was finally swept out of her by the angry waters and perished in the deep. Some of the passengers were thrown overboard by the violence of the waves. The foremast, crowded with people, broke short off, carrying into the sea all those who had clung to it. The men in charge of the racehorses, with a fireman, were seen clinging to a horse-box, but they were swept out to sea and drowned. Not only did disasters in quick succession overtake the ill-fated passengers, but bitter disappointments. About 8 o'clock in the morning the *Havilah*, a sister steamer, passed in full sight, but failed to see the wrecked *Admella*. During the night the P. & O. steamer *Bombay* passed so near that the few who still clung to the wreck clearly saw her lights. After Sunday it was not possible to leave the forepart of the steamer and reach the stern, where there appeared to be greater safety. No living person was to be seen on the forepart of the wreck after Tuesday. The deeds of heroism that were done stir the soul. The second mate secured a lifebuoy and volunteered to swim to the shore. He shook hands with those who remained on the wreck and then committed himself to the deep. He had almost achieved his purpose when a high wave caught him and carried him back to the ocean—a corpse. The second steward — an expert swimmer — next essayed the task. For some distance he battled with the waves, and then threw up his arms and went down. A poorly constructed raft was made, the best that could be contrived

under the circumstances. Two sailors manned the raft and tried to reach the shore. They perished in the attempt. Two other men—John Leach and Robert Knapman—made the attempt and succeeded. Bruised and battered they reached the beach and made for the lighthouse, which they reached about 7 o'clock on Monday morning. The immigrants who had reached that part of the Province hurried to the beach, but nothing of an effective character could be done. Mr. Germein, the lighthouse-keeper, patched up the lifeboat out of which the young Dane had been swept, and which had been washed ashore; but the sea was too tumultuous for a boat to live. Two fishermen—Robert Demetrius and Peter Donnell—at great peril to themselves sailed out in a fishing boat to attempt a rescue, but could not succeed. Meanwhile the unfortunate passengers, one after another, perished. On the fourth night after the steamer struck about twenty died from cold and exhaustion. A passenger (Captain Harris) did good work in diving for provisions, but the effort cost him his life. The steamer *Corio* came from Port Adelaide with the lifeboat. She was launched, manned by five men, and made for the wreck, but was driven ashore. Those on the beach heard the despairing cry of the shipwrecked passengers as the lifeboat failed. The ocean was seething, foaming, and the waves running high. Now the *Ladybird*, from Melbourne, came to the rescue. She had on board the Portland lifeboat crew. The skipper of the lifeboat was James Fawthorp, a grand old white-headed man. She was launched and got within 15 yards of the wreck. A mighty sea came rolling in. "Hold on, men, for your lives," shouted the venerable old captain. The sea caught the boat and turned her over, but she righted herself again. Unfortunately eight of the twelve oars were swept away. "We'll come back," shouted the captain as the boat went away to secure more oars. Again she came to the rescue, near enough to hear some of the tortured survivors say, "For God's sake, come; water!" There was no rescue till the next morning (Saturday). Rain fell. The sea was beaten down. The lifeboat of the *Admella*, which had been patched up by Mr. Germein, reached the wreck and took off three passengers. The other survivors were taken off by the Portland lifeboat after having endured a week of agony. More than eighty persons perished on the wreck, including fourteen children and eighteen women. The only lady saved was Miss Ledwith. Deeds of heroism, revealing the greatness and grandeur of human nature, were done in connection with that awful wreck. A subscription list was opened and met with

a most liberal response. The survivors who needed assistance received it, and the services of those who went to the rescue were recognized by a well-merited reward. A sum of £50 was set aside for the relatives of the heroic young Dane (Soren Holm) if they could be found.

We have looked at the wreck in the south-eastern part of our Province; we must now turn our attention to the City of Adelaide fifty years ago. Some four days after the vessel struck the tidings reached Adelaide. Business was paralysed, shops were empty, streets were crowded day and night. Both Houses of Legislature adjourned. The President of the Legislative Council (Sir James Hurtle Fisher) had two sons on board the *Admella*, and one was drowned. All human help seemed unavailing. One of the citizens suggested a prayer meeting, and crowds flocked to the Pirie Street Methodist Church. Here religious services were conducted during the day. This was on Friday. On Saturday evening the following notice was posted up at the Telegraph Office:—

"Glorious news! Twenty-two saved, including Rochefort, Hurtle Fisher, Captain MacEwin, Andrew Fuller, and Thomas Davey. Poor George Fisher drowned."[47]

[47] A pathetic incident in connection with the wreck of the *Admella* ought to be recorded. The early colonists will remember the Rev. John Gardner, first minister of Chalmers Church, Adelaide. Mrs. E. B. Steele, who died in 1877, was a devoted worker in connection with his Church, especially in the Sunday-school. Among her papers a number of Sunday-school reminiscences were found. The young people who read this history will be specially interested in the following:—"The first parting from any of my scholars was a very sorrowful one, three dear children being suddenly called away. Katie came into my class when very young, and was with me until ten years of age. When crossing the parklands to school Katie, knowing my love for flowers, used to gather a few; but one day she came without any, tearfully enquiring: 'Is it wrong to pick them on the Sabbath Day?' But the time came when my dear scholar must leave me, and she spent her last day in Adelaide with her teacher. I went part of the way home with her, and we talked of that 'happy land' where we hope to meet again. As I found that she had a fear of the sea (she was leaving with her two brothers by the *Admella*) I reminded her of One who holds the winds and the waves. . . . After parting Katie looked back, and her last words to me were: 'I'm not afraid of the sea now.' Robert was eight and a half years old, and very attentive at Sunday-school, never coming without his hymns learned perfectly. Sometimes he was observed going into a room alone before leaving for school, and, when asked the reason, would say: 'I went to pray.' John was too young to come often to school, but always sent his penny to the missionary box. He would come to meet the others, saying: 'I hope there is a picture of Jesus in the book.' When leaving in the *Admella* for Melbourne Johnnie saw many friends weeping. Gazing on

We must again turn our attention to more prosaic and congenial events. The year 1860 was one of great prosperity. There had been a bountiful harvest, a good lambing season, and a large and rich output from the mines. Of the year 1860 the Press said that its history could not be reviewed by the colonists "without an emotion of thankfulness to that Supreme Providence that guides the destinies of peoples as well as of individuals. The year opened in gloom and actual suffering existed; the year closed in gladness. The pressure of painful circumstances had been removed; hope had taken the place of uneasy misgivings. As the withholding of Nature's bounties had caused sorrow so the plentiful outpouring of them restored joy. God had given the colonists the dew of heaven and the fatness of earth."

Speaking in 1861, just before he left the colony, Governor MacDonnell said:—"Nothing can deprive me of the recollection that I was amongst you during the most remarkable six years of your history, and was permitted materially to aid in developing the growth of the colony. When I landed in June, 1855, there was not a mile of rail opened in the colony; there are now 57 miles in use, over which annually rolls a traffic of more than 150,000 tons. Your coasts have been lit by three additional first-class lights, and three additional harbours have come into extensive use. Your population has grown from 86,000 to nearly 130,000, whilst the exports of colonial produce have risen from less than £691,000 in the year 1855 to £1,808,000 in June, 1861. When I landed there was scarcely 60 miles of made road. Now (independently of those in the city) there are nearly, if not over, 200 miles; and instead of 160,000 acres in cultivation there cannot be less now than 460,000, a greater number in proportion to the population than obtains in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions. It is since 1855 that the first telegraph post was erected in this colony, and yet you already possess 600 miles of telegraphic communication and nearly 1,000 miles of wire, together with twenty-six stations. It is also since 1855 that the explorations of Stuart and others have added so much to our geographical knowledge, filling up the blank spaces which had so long defaced the map. Above all, it is since my arrival here that

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them in wonder he said: 'Are you crying because we are all going to our Father?' Johnnie's own verse, as he called it, was: 'He shall gather the lambs in His arms and carry them in His bosom.' Little did I know what was so soon to take place. Those dear children were lost on August 6th, 1859, with many others, when the *Admella* was wrecked."

the great experiment has been tried of entrusting the general mass of the people, through their immediate representatives, with the power to completely control the taxation and expenditure of the country and direct its general legislation. I am bound to say that although such an experiment must be more or less hazardous anywhere, there is less risk accompanying it in South Australia, owing to the character of the people and the division of the property here, than would attend it in almost any other country."

Shortly after Governor MacDonnell had spoken these words the South Australian *Register* said: "Our readers cannot, we think, contemplate the condition of the colony . . . without the most sanguine anticipations as to its future prosperity, and without emotions of gratitude to that Supreme Being who has hitherto watched over its interests. The material, social, and religious aspects of the community are such as to warrant us in believing that South Australia will not only be an example to other countries, but that it will speedily become the home of hundreds of thousands of persons from the Mother Country less favourably circumstanced than ourselves."

The colonists were so pleased with the administration of Sir Richard MacDonnell that a petition was prepared for presentation to the Queen, asking that his term of office might be extended. His Excellency ruled that such an act was not permissible. He could not "transmit a memorial affecting his tenure of office unless it were of an adverse or unfriendly character." In the judgment of the colonists Governor MacDonnell "had well and wisely discharged the duties of his high position" and "had secured the confidence of all classes of the community."

On the eve of leaving the Province Lady MacDonnell was presented with a cheque for £130, enclosed in a beautifully chaste silver box, and various adddresses were presented to the Governor. Sir Richard and Lady MacDonnell left South Australia on March 4th, 1862.

Sir Richard was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and then Governor of Hong-Kong. In 1872 he retired on a pension, and died in France on February 5th, 1881, and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery, England.

SOME PIONEER BUILDERS.



Sir James Hurtle Fisher.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SOME PIONEER BUILDERS.

In previous chapters we have watched the process of nation-building. We saw the plans prepared and the foundations laid; the circumstances under which the builders worked; their reverses and their successes; their struggles for political and religious freedom. We watched them rise from a position of imperial tutelage to that of a self-governing people; we witnessed their efforts to penetrate into the interior and the rise of their religious institutions. Now some of the builders will come under review. Their memories ought to be kept green. This is a duty we owe them. Anglo-Saxons the world over, as well as South Australians, would like to know something of the more prominent pioneers who laid the foundations of the State and who helped to build up the very creditable superstructure that we have detailed.

The pioneers were a fine sample of the British race. Said the late Sir Henry Ayers, who was one of them, having come out in 1840: "The early settlers evinced great boldness in coming to this country when they did, for it was no light undertaking for men and women, with their children, to leave the comforts and conveniences of civilization and to venture to settle in a country whose geographical position was not generally understood, and of whose productive powers absolutely nothing was known. When they were surrounded with difficulties it was the possession of like courage which enabled them successfully to withstand them. I have always urged, and am still of opinion, that the greatest factor in overcoming our difficulties was the sterling qualities of our pioneers. They were a superior sample of the people of the Mother Country. They had their privations, their disappointments, and their losses, which they bravely met. . . . In short, they were made of the right sort of stuff, and well worthy of the grand old country whose sons they were." They must have been a superior type—brave, determined, self-reliant—or they never would have faced what was really a great ordeal. It is only men and women of heroic spirit who would sacrifice the comforts and conveniences of Old England, who would leave relatives and friends and go out to found a nation in an unknown land.

Many years after he had left the colony Sir George Grey said: "It was founded on a peculiar system which had brought a very superior class of men in almost every rank of life. In no colony in which I have been was there such a number of clever men—of really proficient men—in proportion to the population. In no part of the world have I seen a finer and more able set of men and women for founding a settlement. They were of the right stamp—determined, self-reliant, and hopeful." Sir George affirmed that he had learned lessons from the pioneers of South Australia that had been of value to him through life.

From time to time reminiscences of some of the pioneers have appeared in the daily Press. There was one who settled at Hope Valley who could clear a piece of country, fence, plant, and harvest it; build a house, make the furniture, use almost every kind of tool, and drive a steam engine, mail-coach, or bullock-dray. Ultimately he became a schoolteacher, a profession that he followed to the time of his death.

Women as well as men were equal to the difficulties and disadvantages incidental to pioneering. They were industrious, resolute, courageous, and independent. One pioneer and his wife sank a well 100 ft. deep. The good lady pulled the rock up with bucket and windlass as her husband cut it away. Nor was this by any means the only like engagement they performed.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the women pioneers. It was upon these that the burdens incidental to emigration and colonization the more heavily fell. They left comfortable homes in the Old Land, surrounded by all the advantages of civilization, and had to endure, in a sense that the men did not, the dangers, difficulties, discomforts, and sacrifices connected with settlement in a new, untried, and unknown land. From "A Backward Glance," the story of John Ridley's life, written by his daughter, I take the following:—"Happily for the project (emigrating to South Australia) my mother was a woman to whom the sensation of fear was unknown. I never remember her afraid of anything that it was necessary for her to face. She had no fear or misgiving about the colonization scheme, and where her husband led she was prepared to follow." This good lady, after the family landed in South Australia in 1840 (four years after the Province was proclaimed), knew what it was to sit up in bed with the water dropping through the roof, holding up an umbrella to shelter herself and her two wee babies. One of the last duties that our worthy pioneer Edward Stephens

discharged before he passed into the unseen was the delivery of a speech in praise of the wives of the early settlers.

One of our sturdy pioneers, when more than ninety years of age, put on record some of his recollections. He landed at Glenelg in 1840. The total amount of his capital was 4s. 6d. Footing the track from Glenelg he called in at the "Half-way House." Here he had to pay 3s. 6d. When he reached Emigration Square, on the West Parklands of the embryo city, he had 1s. only with which to begin his colonial experiences. But he had strong arms, a good character, and determined spirit. The day after his arrival he left Emigration Square and obtained work as a bullock-driver for the South Australian Company. For his services he received £2 per week with house, wood, and water. A time of commercial depression set in. Our praiseworthy pioneer had to take work in the hills at 8s. per week, with board for himself and wife. Out of this miserable allowance he managed to save £10 10s. to purchase a bullock-dray so that he might himself enter into business. It must also be borne in mind that at this time the price of commodities was very high. The first bag of flour that this pioneer bought cost £6. In carting wood from the hills to Adelaide it was under great difficulties that he laboured. The road through what is now the city of Unley was a tremendous bog. "In winter time the bullocks would be up to their knees in mud. In one place particularly five or six teams would often be bogged, and the united strength of all the bullocks in the teams would be required to pull each waggon through the mire." There were no mowing machines in those days, and this hardy pioneer was a splendid hand with the scythe. He could mow about three acres a day. Subsequently he rented a farm at Coromandel Valley and finally became the owner of a large estate. At ninety years of age his proud and laudable boast was: "I never turned insolvent; I never had anything to do with a law case; and never had a man ask me twice for money."

With many of the pioneer builders I have already dealt. The early Governors, Robert Gouger, George Fife Angas, Colonel Light, George Stevenson, Sir John Jeffcott, George Milner Stephen, David McLaren, John Ridley, and several others have come under review. The pioneer explorers and preachers have also been sketched. There are many other pioneers to whom frequent references has been made in our pages, but whose history has not been recorded. With these we shall now deal.

Pioneer Crown Officials.

These were the men sent out from England by the Commissioners in 1836 to lay the foundations of the new Province: —

Sir James Hurtle Fisher.—Among the pioneer builders his position is unique. He was appointed Resident Commissioner, and came out with Governor Hindmarsh in the *Buffalo*. The vessel arrived on December 24th, 1836, and four days after dropping anchor the colony was proclaimed. Speaking on that occasion Governor Hindmarsh said: "May the present unanimity continue as long as South Australia exists." The Glenelg plains rang with acclamation. Such a desideratum, however, was not to be. To send out a Governor and a Resident Commissioner—two men armed with authority—was an unfortunate mistake. Their orbits lay in much the same plane, and frequently they came into collision. No doubt it was largely the disputes between the Governor and the Resident Commissioner that led to the recall of the former. When Governor Gawler was appointed the office of Resident Commissioner was merged in that of Governor. James Hurtle Fisher continued in the colony practising as a lawyer. He took a deep interest in the welfare of the early settlers. He was one of the Committee which named the streets of the city. In 1840 he was elected as one of the Councillors for the embryo city, and chosen Mayor —a position that he occupied five times. It was he who laid the foundation-stone of the monument erected to the memory of Colonel Light. James Hurtle Fisher took a prominent part in resisting the imposition of royalties in Governor Robe's time and in opposing the proposal to send out the "Parkhurst Boys," so called from the reformatory in which they were confined. He failed to obtain a seat in the first Legislative Council on a more popular basis. That year, as an expression of appreciation of his services, a banquet was tendered him by some of the settlers, and he was presented with a testimonial. He was in the Legislative Council in 1853, and was also nominated to the Council created in 1855 and elected Speaker. This worthy pioneer was one of our Constitution-makers. He helped to pass the Parliament Bill giving the power of self-government to the people, and in the First Parliament was elected a member of the Legislative Council and chosen as President. This position was occupied by him till he retired in 1864. In 1860 James Hurtle Fisher was knighted by the Queen. The Hon. John Baker (who will come under review), speaking of him, said:

"James Hurtle Fisher's pre-eminent talent was seen in the fact that he could foresee the enactments that would suit the progressive requirements of the colony. He was ever the man chosen to preside at meetings convened either to denounce a grievance or to demand justice. If there was an old colonists' festival James Hurtle Fisher was, by general consent, the man to preside over it." He served his adopted country well, and on January 28th, 1875, at the ripe age of eighty-five years, passed away. Hurtle Square is named after him.

Captain Lipson was an old and useful colonist. In 1793 he joined the Royal Navy and saw active service. When the South Australian Colonization Bill was passed the Admiralty appointed Captain Lipson naval officer for the proposed colony. The Commissioners nominated him as harbourmaster and Collector of Customs. Captain Lipson, wife, and family came out in the *Cygnet* in November, 1836. He was the first person to welcome Governor Hindmarsh on his arrival. This was at Port Lincoln, at which place the *Buffalo* called before dropping anchor in Holdfast Bay. Captain Lipson held the position of harbourmaster till 1855, when he retired on a life pension. He died October 25th, 1863, aged seventy-nine years. Lipson Street, Port Adelaide, perpetuates his name.

John Brown.—Well known to the early emigrants. He was the first Emigration Agent, and came out with his wife in the *Africaine*, arriving November 2nd, 1836. It was "John Brown's Tent," Holdfast Bay, that the first emigrants had to seek. From letters and diaries we get glimpses of it. One of our lady pioneers who came out in the *Buffalo* wrote as follows:—"On first landing we went to a tent belonging to Mr. Brown. The floor was covered with native yellow everlasting flowers. Most cool and refreshing it appeared after a voyage of over five months." Another, describing her first morning's experience in the Great Lone Land, said: "We all rose early, with parrots chirping over our heads, and breakfasted with Mrs. Brown. The coffee mill is nailed to a tree outside of the tent, and the roaster stands close by its side." John Brown was involved in the early squabbles and was suspended by Governor Hindmarsh. He was one of the Committee which named the streets of the city, and took an active part in the public affairs of the young colony, especially in opposing State-aid to religion. He was a member of the first City Council, and was for some years editor of *The Adelaide Times*. He became manager of the Adelaide Life Assurance and Guarantee Company, a position that he occu-

pied till failing health necessitated his resignation. He retired on a pension. In 1879 he met with an accident in King William Street that had a fatal ending. He died August 17th, 1879, aged seventy-eight years. John Brown has been described as "a man of high mental culture and of the strictest integrity." Brown Street, Adelaide, will perpetuate his name.

THOMAS GILBERT was in business in Leadenhall Street, London, as an optician. When the idea of founding a colony in South Australia was suggested he took a great interest in the movement. In the Old Country Thomas Gilbert was associated with such representative men as Robert Gouger, John Brown, George S. Kingston, Richard D. Hanson, and Dr. Everard. He sailed for the new land in the *Cygnet* with many other honoured pioneers, and landed at Kangaroo Island in September, 1836. It was this esteemed pioneer who proposed the toast "Mrs. Hindmarsh and the Ladies" at the foundation of the colony. He occupied the position of colonial storekeeper and for some time acted as postmaster. In 1854 he retired on a pension. He was a man of excellent character. In the early squabbles Governor Hindmarsh, in one of his despatches, described Thomas Gilbert as "an honest man misled." His long life came to an end on May 30th, 1873, in his eighty-sixth year. Gilbert Street, Adelaide, bears his name.

CHARLES MANN.—He was the first Advocate-General of South Australia. Died May 24th, 1860, aged sixty years. Charles Mann was a very useful and prominent pioneer. He took a deep interest in public questions. He was the father of Charles Mann, a noted politician, who came in after years upon the scene. Mount Mann, in the Far North, is named after this pioneer.

OSMOND GILLES, the first Treasurer of South Australia, came to the Province with Governor Hindmarsh in the *Buffalo*. Died September 23rd, 1866, aged seventy-one years. Glen Osmond is named after him and Gilles Street, Adelaide; also Lake Gilles and Gilles Plains.

SIR GEORGE STRICKLAND KINGSTON came out in the fifth vessel, the *Cygnet*, arriving at Kangaroo Island on September 11th, 1836. His position was that of Deputy-Surveyor, second in command to Colonel Light. By the aid of emigrants' letters and diaries we get glimpses of him as he moved about among the rush huts and tents at Holdfast Bay more than sixty years ago. John Morphett, writing home shortly after the founding of the colony, said: "With respect to dress



Sir George Strickland Kingston.

I should say that we are in the primitive state of society at the present. Men are not estimated by the cut of their clothes or respected for the goodness of their hats." Gentlemen "are to be seen in all kinds of dress, each having consulted his own fancy and chosen clothing adapted to the climate." This statement throws light upon a remark made by one of our pioneers that in the primitive encampment at Holdfast Bay George Strickland Kingston "went about like a brigand of the woods"! Another, speaking of the landing of Governor Hindmarsh and his party, wrote: "They all seemed highly delighted with our village, as I may call it, which consisted now of about forty tents and huts scattered about without any regularity. We took coffee in Mr. Kingston's hut." At this time of the day it is refreshing to read of men dwelling in huts who rose to the highest positions of honour and who were knighted by the Queen. It was George S. Kingston who, in company with two other immigrants, discovered the Torrens, on which the City of Adelaide is built. After the resignation of Colonel Light he became Acting Surveyor-General. George S. Kingston sat in the first Legislative Council elected on a more representative basis. This was in 1851. He was chosen for Burra, which he represented for many years. In 1855 he was re-elected for that district and helped to frame the new Constitution. When the First Parliament was formed in 1857 he was once more returned for Burra, and was appointed Speaker of the House of Assembly, a position he filled for two or three years. In 1865 he was again elected Speaker, and held office till 1880. For services rendered to the colony he was knighted by the Queen. George S. Kingston was an opponent to State-aid to religion. He did posterity good service by keeping a register of the rainfall, making it possible to compare meteorological conditions to-day with those that existed in pioneer times. He died while on a voyage to India, November 26th, 1881. The township of Kingston and Mount Kingston, in the Far North, perpetuate his name: also Kingston Terrace in North Adelaide.

Members of the Nominee Council.

When South Australia became a Crown colony in Governor Grey's time a Legislative Council was formed consisting of eight persons and including the Governor. Four of these were official members and four non-official. It is with the members of this pioneer Council that we have to deal:—

Alfred M. Mundy.—Unlike many of the pioneers, his influence did not come down to modern times; it was confined to the thirties and forties. In 1839 he drove over from

New South Wales to Adelaide in company with Mr. Joseph Hawdon. In 1843 he was nominated as Colonial Secretary by Governor Grey and remained in the Council till 1849. Having obtained leave of absence he went to England on May 30th, 1849, and died at Nice in 1877. He supported the principle of State-aid to religion and the imposition of royalties. Mundy Street, Port Adelaide, and a watercourse in the Far North bear his name.

William Smillie.—In 1843 he was nominated by Governor Grey as Advocate-General. He was a member of the Established Church of Scotland, and warmly supported the principle of State-aid to religion. It was William Smillie who said in the Council: "Let the dissenters (to the principle of State-aid) go on and make as many proselytes as they could. God speed them. But if a vast number of sheep were out of the fold it was the duty of our rulers to look after them." Still he was no bigot. In old records we find him taking part in public meetings in connection with the pioneer Methodist Church. Evidently he was a man of considerable ability. He received two years' leave of absence from the colony and, I believe, died in Paris about 1851 It was said that he wore himself out in the service of South Australia.

Jacob Hagen.—Jacob Hagen was a most influential and useful pioneer. In 1843 he was nominated by Governor Grey as a non-official member of the Legislative Council, and during his term of office served well his country and Queen. In pioneer legislation he took a very prominent part. In the proceedings of the old Nominee Council no name is more prominent than his. Evidently he was a man who could take a firm mental grasp of pioneer politics and could give clear and intelligent expression to his views. Jacob Hagen brought a considerable amount of capital to the colony and purchased a large estate at Echunga. His house and garden in this picturesque spot were among the finest in the colony. About the end of 1853 he left the colony and secured an estate in England, where he died about 1868.

Captain Dashwood came to the colony in 1841 and was appointed a magistrate. In 1843 he was nominated a member of the first Nominee Council. In 1847 he was appointed Acting Commissioner of Police and police magistrate. Later he was Collector of Customs for the Province with a seat in the Legislative Council that passed the First Parliament Bill in 1853. He then acted as Emigration Agent in Great Britain, and finally served the Crown and colony as stipendiary magistrate for Port Adelaide and Edithburgh. He died

at Norwood March 15th, 1881, aged seventy-five years. Dashwood's Gully is named after him.

Major Thomas Shuldam O'Halloran was the son of Major-General Sir J. O'Halloran, and was born in 1797. Before coming to the New Settlement he had seen active service in India. In 1838 he retired from the army by the sale of his commission and received a medal for his services in India. He then sailed for the new Province of South Australia, arriving in 1838. Major O'Halloran at once settled at a place south of Adelaide that has ever since been known as O'Halloran Hill. Not long after his arrival the position of Commissioner of Police was offered him and this he accepted. Dealing with bushrangers and blacks he had some stirring experiences. It was he who had to lead the party of pioneers sent to scour some of the South-East country in search of the blacks who murdered the passengers and crew of the *Maria*. Later he led a body of men up the Murray to punish some blacks for an attack upon an overland party. In an official report he describes how he came upon the body of a white man guarded by a faithful bulldog. The dog had been speared in two places by the blacks. The man's body was covered with wounds, his head and face mutilated and frightfully battered with waddies. Part of a dray, flour in heaps, broken muskets, and other articles lay strewn round; also many waddies and jagged spears, with blood, flesh, and hair upon them. It was a gruesome scene. A grave was dug for the remains of the man, and Major O'Halloran had the melancholy satisfaction of giving to the body Christian burial. I quote this as evidence of some of the exciting circumstances through which the Major passed and the dangers with which the pioneers were confronted. In 1843 the Government wished to add the duties of magistrate to those of Commissioner of Police, and Major O'Halloran resigned his position. In the same year he was nominated as a non-official member of the Nominee Council. He took a prominent part in resisting the imposition of royalties. In 1857 Major O'Halloran was chosen a member of the Legislative Council under the new Constitution, holding office till June, 1863. Throughout life "he well sustained the reputation of a gentleman." It was Major O'Halloran who founded Christ Church, O'Halloran Hill: he was also one of the governors of St. Peter's College. He died August 16th, 1870, aged seventy-three years. Mount O'Halloran, in the Far North, as well as O'Halloran Hill, is named after him.

Sir John Morphett.—A colossal figure in the Province for more than fifty years. This the reader will have surmised

from the frequent reference to him in these pages. In our chapter on "Preparing to Build" we had a glimpse of John Morphett nearly eighty years ago. On that historic occasion, before the colony was in existence, he said: "In heart I am now a South Australian." Such he remained to the end of his long pilgrimage. He came to the new land by the *Cygnet*, arriving at Kangaroo Island on September 11th, 1836, three months before the colony was proclaimed. We meet with him first at Rapid Bay in company with Samuel Stephens. Evidently they had both sailed over from Kangaroo Island to the mainland on an exploring expedition. A little later he is among the "hutters" at Holdfast Bay. From this position John Morphett, George S. Kingston, and another immigrant tried to penetrate a little farther into the heart of the new and unknown country. They discovered the Torrens, on the banks of which Colonel Light afterwards decided to lay out the city. When the fugitive camp at Holdfast Bay was broken up and the settlers travelled a few miles inland and "hutted" themselves near the site of the city that was to be, John Morphett found a temporary resting-place in a hut that he built on the banks of the Torrens. An old pioneer in her diary says: "It was near a grassy plot where the gentlemen played quoits." A few months later, writing to friends in England, he said: "It is not twelve months since the Governor proclaimed the Province on the plains of Glenelg, and very little more than that time since the first body of immigrants landed on the beach at Holdfast Bay—the forlorn hope, as it might be termed, of a community of Englishmen who had fixed upon this country as an experiment in colonization. I recollect the discontented and dismal look with which most of the party regarded, from the deck of the ship, the dried and scorched appearance of the plains, which to their English ideas betokened little short of barrenness. . . . All this has given way to approval of the place, confidence in the capabilities of the soil, and fitness of the climate." In 1843 John Morphett was nominated by Governor Grey as a non-official member of the Legislative Council. It was this pioneer who led the party, in the old Nominee Council, which was in favour of State-aid to religion. He was one of the four non-official members who walked out of the Council Chamber when Governor Robe was determined to carry the Royalty Bill by the exercise of his casting vote. In 1851 he was nominated by Governor Young as a non-official member of the first Legislative Council on a more popular basis. Of this Council he was chosen Speaker. Perhaps no early settler laboured more earnestly than he for the

establishment of responsible government. He was elected a member of the Legislative Council in 1857 under responsible government and was Chief Secretary of the Province in 1861. When Sir James Hurtle Fisher retired from political life John Morphett was chosen President of the Legislative Council, a position he held for several years. For services rendered to Crown and country he was knighted by the Queen. He died on November 7th, 1892, having attained more than fourscore years. His name is handed down to posterity in Morphett Street, Adelaide; Morphett Vale; and Mount Morphett, in the Far North.

Captain Charles H. Bagot.—A patriarch indeed! He was born in Kildare, Ireland. He entered the army and saw active service in India, and in 1840 came to the new colony, bringing with him a number of agricultural labourers. Land was taken up by him near Kapunda, not far from the spot where his son (C. S. Bagot) and F. S. Dutton discovered the indications of ore that led to the development of the Kapunda Mine. It is said that Captain Bagot and his son defined the first road from Gawler to Kapunda with a wooden plough made of a large limb of a sheaoak-tree. He was nominated as a member of the Legislative Council in 1843, and was a doughty opponent of State-aid to religion. He took a great interest in religious matters and in temperance work. In 1851 he was elected for the District of Light in the first Legislative Council on the new basis. Captain Bagot was also elected a member of the Legislative Council under the new Constitution in 1857. After visiting England he was re-elected in 1865. This estimable pioneer was patron of the Total Abstinence League and worked hard to secure Sunday closing and the people's veto. His characteristics were honesty and thoroughness. He was a "true friend" and "a man of sterling worth." Captain Bagot died on July 28th, 1880, aged ninety-two years. The hoary head was a crown of glory. His name still lingers in Bagot's Well.

Sir Samuel Davenport was born in England in 1818, and came from a fine old English family. He arrived in the colony in 1842. Was one of the four non-official members of the Council in Governor Robe's time. Samuel Davenport regarded the imposition of royalties as being so unfair—so contrary to the Act under which the colony was founded—that in company with the other non-official members of the Council he retired from the Chamber as a protest against the Bill becoming law by the exercise of Governor Robe's casting vote. He opposed the Bill giving State-aid to religion.

There were few of the social advantages in the early days that colonists now enjoy. Samuel Davenport would ride into Adelaide from Macclesfield, attend to his legislatorial duties, and ride back the same day—a distance of over 50 miles. In order to do this he had to rise at 4 o'clock in the morning. He was nominated for the Legislative Council in 1855, and sat in the first Legislative Council under responsible government in 1857. He was in the first and in the third Ministry under responsible government as Commissioner of Public Works. Samuel Davenport gave his support to the Torrens Real Property Act. As an evidence of the esteem in which he was held by the colonists and their confidence in his ability he was chosen as Commissioner to represent the colony at several Exhibitions. In 1884 he was knighted by the Queen. In the early days Sir Samuel took a great interest in exploration, and throughout his colonial career exhibited no little concern in the industries of the colony. No pioneer has been more respected or useful than he. He passed away at Beaumont on September 3rd, 1906, in his eighty-ninth year. Of him it was said at his death: "A good and grand old Englishman has passed peacefully to his rest and left the world the poorer for his departure, but the richer because he lived in it, and because he has bequeathed what is better than riches—an unsullied name—with a magnificent example to public men of to-day." Davenport Creek and Davenport Range, in the Far North, are so named in his honour.

Some Members of the Nominee and the Elective Council.

In 1851 a further privilege—a right—was conceded by the Imperial authorities to the early settlers. This was a Legislative Council on a more popular and representative basis. Only eight members were to be nominated by the Crown and sixteen elected by the people. Some who sat in the old Nominee Council were elected to the new, but with these I have already dealt.

Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Boyle Travers Finniss. —In this section we give him the premier position. He was born in 1807 at sea, off the Cape of Good Hope, and was educated at Greenwich, passing as a gentleman cadet into the military college, Sandhurst. He was appointed to a commission in the 56th Regiment and served for some time in Mauritius. In 1835 he sold out of the army and made preparations to come to the proposed new Province of South Australia. He took office under the South Australian Colonization Commissioners, and was appointed Assistant Sur-



Sir Samuel Davenport.

veyor to Colonel Light, arriving in the *Cygnet* in 1836. This pioneer, who saw an empty land covered with towns and waste places transformed into smiling fields and fruitful gardens, sojourned with us till 1893. In 1839 he was appointed Deputy-Surveyor, and later Governor Grey gave him the position of Commissioner of Police and magistrate. In 1851 he was nominated by Governor Young as one of the official members of the new Legislative Council, taking the position of Registrar-General. In this Council the Hon. B. T. Finniss strongly advocated the principle of State-aid to religion. In later years his views on this question underwent a change. In the interim, between the departure of Governor Young and the arrival of his successor, the Hon. B. T. Finniss, was Acting Administrator. He was Premier of the First Parliament under responsible government. Later he was Treasurer of the Province. In 1864 he was entrusted with the establishment of a new English settlement in the Northern Territory, in part of the country discovered by John McDouall Stuart. There were some differences between him and his subordinates and the Hon. B. T. Finniss was recalled. In the year that the colony celebrated its Jubilee he published a valuable book under the title "The Constitutional History of South Australia." He has been described as "a man of determined character, varied capacity, and great usefulness; a capable administrator, hardworking, fearless, and thoroughly patriotic." In recognition of his services the title of "Honourable" was conferred upon him: he also received a pension. He died on December 24th, 1893, aged eighty-six years. The Finniss River and Finniss Street, North Adelaide, bear his name.

Francis Stacker Dutton was one of the discoverers of the famous Kapunda Mine: this was in 1843 while out mustering sheep. When a new Constitution was granted for the Legislative Council in 1851 this pioneer was the first candidate in the field. He was elected for East Adelaide, and informed his constituents that "as trustee for the public he would vote against State-aid to religion." Not only did he vote against it, but he delivered an effective speech in opposition to it. He was re-elected for East Adelaide in 1855, and was one of the leading spirits in framing a new Constitution for South Australia. He also sat in the First Parliament in 1857. On two occasions he was Premier of the Province, and sat in the fourth Ministry as Commissioner of Crown Lands. In 1865 he was appointed Agent-General to represent South Australia in London. Francis Stacker Dutton has been represented as "a man of varied attainments,

a clear thinker, with considerable literary ability." He was the author of a work entitled "South Australia and its Mines." He died in London in January, 1877, aged sixty-one years. The district of Dutton and Mount Dutton, in the Far North, bear his name.

Robert Davenport.—He was an opponent of State-aid to religion and was elected for the District of Hindmarsh in 1851. A political career was open to him, but he did not enter fully upon it. He retired from politics and went in for pastoral pursuits. For more than half a century Robert Davenport lived at Battunga, near Macclesfield. He was a brother to Sir Samuel Davenport. He died on September 3rd, 1896, aged seventy-nine years.

Anthony Forster was born in the County of Durham in 1813. He was engaged by George Fife Angas to go to South Australia as his agent, arriving in 1841. This pioneer took a great interest in the social and religious life of the colony. In 1855 he was elected for West Adelaide, defeating James Hurtle Fisher. Anthony Forster was one of our Constitution-makers, and an able and most determined antagonist to State-aid to religion. He was elected to the First Parliament in 1857, and for some years had a seat in the Legislature. He worked hard to secure the passing of the Real Property Act. In 1855 Anthony Forster became part-proprietor of *The Register*, and for nearly twelve years was connected with that paper. He wrote a book on "South Australia: Its Progress and Prosperity." This respected pioneer left the colony for England in 1868. He had a fine presence and was a good speaker, with a full vocabulary, and was a most consistent politician. He died in England in January, 1897, aged eighty-three years. Forster Range, in the Far North, is named after him.

Captain George Hall was born in Kent, England, in 1811. Spent some time in the mercantile navy. He came to the New Settlement about 1842 and took up a cattle station near Angaston. Subsequently he went into business at Port Adelaide. In 1851 he was elected as representative for the Port, defeating William Giles. Captain Hall was an earnest advocate of the principle of State-aid to religion. It was he who said that "as legislators they had taken the oath of allegiance to the Queen, and to reject the Bill for State-aid to religion was tantamount to throwing off their allegiance to the King of kings." He was elected to the Legislative Council when responsible government was granted, and was a member to the time of his death, which took place on January 28th, 1867.

George Marsden Waterhouse was the son of the Rev. John Waterhouse, General Superintendent of Methodist Missions in the Southern Hemisphere. He was elected a member of the new Council in 1851, and gave his vote and the weight of his influence in opposition to State-aid to religion. Under the new Constitution in 1857 George M. Waterhouse was elected a member of the House of Assembly. On each occasion he represented East Torrens. When the Parliament Bill was under discussion in 1853 he advocated that the Upper House should be elective. He was Chief Secretary in the Hon. Thos. Reynolds' Ministry in 1860. From 1861 to 1863 he was Premier of South Australia. Two or three years later he removed to New Zealand and there became Premier. Finally he left New Zealand for the Old Country, and resided at Hawthornden, Torquay. Here he died on August 6th, 1906, full of years and with a character beyond impeachment or stain.

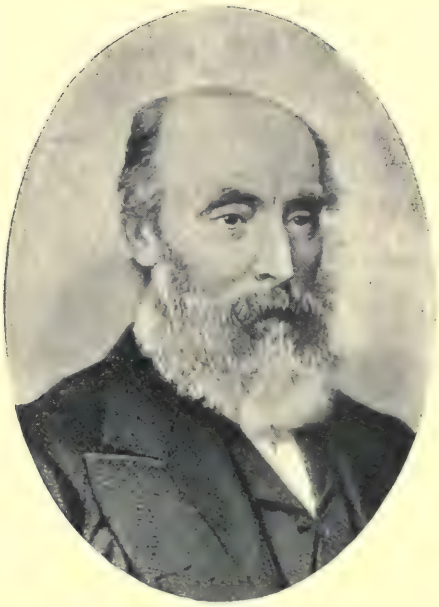
Sir Arthur H. Freeling was nominated by Governor MacDonnell as an official member of the Legislative Council in 1855, and was one of our Constitution-makers. He was elected to the first Legislative Council under responsible government and appointed Commissioner of Public Works. For several years he sat in the Parliament and acted as Surveyor-General for the colony. He resigned his official positions in the colony and returned to England, joined the Royal Engineers, and rose to the rank of Major-General. He succeeded to a baronetcy. Sir Arthur lived to a good age and died in March, 1885. The town of Freeling is named after him.

Alexander L. Elder came to the colony in 1839 and was chosen to represent West Adelaide in the new Council formed in 1851. His address in that Council in opposition to State-aid to religion was among the most effective. Alexander L. Elder was one of a deputation appointed to wait upon Governor Robe to ask him to delay the passing of the Bill giving the Government grant to religious bodies. This must have been the occasion when the old Tory and High-Churchman bowed the deputation out with the words: "Gentlemen, I have no reply to make." It was a breach of courtesy that Alexander L. Elder could never forget. This pioneer was held in high esteem. He founded the well-known firm of Elder, Smith, & Co., Limited, and died in London, September 5th, 1885.

Sir Robert R. Torrens.—The passing of the Real Property Act has made the memory of this pioneer immortal.

He was a son of Colonel Torrens, one of the founders of the colony. Illustrious as the father was, the son was much more so. After taking the degree of M.A. at Trinity College, Dublin, he came to the new colony in 1840 and was appointed Collector of Customs. Robert Torrens was one of the official nominees to the Legislative Council of 1851. In the final struggle over the question of State-aid to religion he was a commanding spirit on the vanquished side. He was a member of the Council formed in 1855 to frame a new Constitution, being nominated to the position of Colonial Treasurer. When responsible government was granted and a new Parliament was formed in 1857 Robert Torrens was elected for the City of Adelaide, and sat in the Cabinet as Treasurer. Later he formed a Ministry which soon collapsed. It was born, dead, and buried within a month. It is as "Father of the Real Property Act" that this pioneer's name will be handed down to posterity. After the Act was passed he had a triumphal procession through the colonies, and in a visit to England gave information respecting the measure. Finally he left the Province and settled in the Old Land. He sat in the British House of Commons for Cambridge for a few years, and was knighted by the Queen. "Brilliant as a rocket" is one description that has been given of him. The Hon. B. T. Finniss, who knew Sir Robert well, has said: "Fluent of speech as his countrymen usually are, he was an eloquent speaker when roused to action. He wounded rather than persuaded, preferring invective as a weapon of attack to logical reasoning, for which he seldom exhibited much capacity." He died in England on August 31st, 1884, aged seventy years. The River Torrens is named after his father, but it also serves to remind us of the son.

William Giles.—A grand old pioneer, one of the buttresses of a nation. It is his moral worth that grips. He came to the colony in 1837, and in 1841 succeeded David McLaren as manager of the South Australian Company. This position he held till 1861, when he retired on a pension. He was appointed a special magistrate by Governor Hindmarsh, and in 1851 was elected a member of the new Legislative Council, representing the District of Yatala. William Giles was a determined foe to State-aid to religion. Of his social relation to the settlers it has been said, "His charity fell like the dew of heaven equally upon all." Indifferent health would not allow of his taking a prominent position in political life. He died at Beaumont on May 11th, 1862, aged seventy years. His was the peaceful end of the righteous man.



Sir Robert R. Torrens,
Father of the Real Property Act.

Charles Simeon Hare.—A quaint and eccentric character. A pioneer who played many parts. He and his wife came to the colony before it was proclaimed. They sailed by the *Emma*, which dropped anchor at Kangaroo Island on October 5th, 1836. For a time he served the South Australian Company. We next find him carrying on business as a contractor at the Port of the colony. He loyally stood by John Stephens, the able editor of *The Register*, of whom I shall have to speak. When one trouble after another overtook him Charles Simeon Hare was his friend. In the new Council of 1851 he was chosen to represent the District of West Torrens, and gave his vote against State-aid to religion. When the First Parliament was formed in 1857 Charles Simeon Hare had a seat in the House of Assembly, being elected for the District of Yatala. He was appointed Manager of Railways. In this capacity he had what might have been a most tragical experience. Sir Dominick Daly (the Governor of South Australia) and some members of the Ministry, with a number of distinguished visitors, wished to travel by express train to Port Adelaide to visit H.M.S. *Falcon*. Our railway system was then in its infancy. Charles Simeon Hare had charge of the train and gave instructions to the driver to "put on full steam." This he did, with the result that the rails were displaced and two carriages thrown off the line. The vice-regal party was upset in more senses than one. Fortunately, the coupling chain between the engine and the carriages broke and the passengers escaped injury. A Committee of Enquiry was held and Charles Simeon Hare's services were dispensed with. He went to Fiji for some years and then returned to the colony. At intervals he was elected to Parliament. This old and quaint pioneer knew well how to work upon the susceptibilities of Cornish miners. On one occasion, when seeking their suffrages, he pulled off his coat, and running up a ladder to the top of a scaffold exclaimed: "I always like to speak as a working man to working men," marking off the periods of his speech by puffing at the stump of a cigar. His chequered career came to an end on July 22nd, 1882. His age was seventy-four years.

Sir Richard Davies Hanson.—He was an attorney in London, and took an interest in the drawing of the plans for the proposed colony of South Australia. John Morphett, George S. Kingston, and Richard Hanson were all friends in London when South Australia was almost a *terra incognita*. The three came to the colony, made their mark, and attained the honour of knighthood. In London seventy-two years ago Richard Hanson was recognized as a man of ability, and

was chosen to deliver an address in Exeter Hall in the interests of the proposed colony. He came to the Province in 1846 and practised his profession. He was Secretary of the League formed in opposition to the Government grant to religious bodies, and was also employed by John Stephens as a writer to *The Register*. In 1851 Richard Hanson was nominated as an official member of the new Legislative Council, taking the position of Advocate-General. He was the framer of the Education Act passed by that Council, and had a seat as a member of the Education Board. In 1852 he introduced the District Councils Act. He was nominated a member of the new Council in 1855, and was the leading spirit in framing the new Constitution. In the First Parliament in 1857 Richard Hanson was elected for the City of Adelaide and held the position of Attorney-General. Later in the same year he was Premier of the colony, and conducted the business of the House through three sessions. When Sir Charles Cooper retired from the position of Chief Justice in 1861 the vacant post was given to Richard Hanson. In 1869 he visited England and was knighted by the Queen. Of him the Hon. B. T. Finniss has said: "Sir Richard was a man who, when seen in his proper sphere, the Supreme Court, impressed you with the idea of mental power. His broad, expansive forehead when turned upwards in the act of addressing a jury gave evidence of brain power within, and the deep tones of his voice ensured attention to what he uttered. He was no orator of the impassioned school, but a steady flow of carefully measured words, weighted with calm, logical reasoning, produced conviction of the sincerity and force of his argument." A visitor to Adelaide in the early days, speaking of Sir Richard many years before he received his knighthood, said: "In Mr. Hanson (Attorney-General) I am inclined to think that I recognize the ablest public man in all the colonies. He is quiet, reserved, and unobtrusive in his style of dealing with public affairs, although when he chooses he can dart with lion-like power upon an antagonist." Sir Richard was an active member of a philosophical society, and gave attention to philosophical and theological questions. He wrote and published a rationalistic work on "The Jesus of History." He died on March 4th, 1876, aged seventy years. Hanson Street, in the city, and Hanson Range, in the Far North, bear his name.

Edward Castres Gwynne was born in February, 1811, and came to the new Province of South Australia by the *Lord Goderich*, arriving in 1838. He began to practise as an attorney, and put up an office at the west end of North Ter-

race. In 1851 his political life began, being nominated as a non-official member of the new Legislative Council. It was he who led the party in this Council in favour of State-aid to religion, bringing in a Bill for that purpose. He was a member of the First Parliament in 1857, and was chosen Attorney-General in what is known as "The Ten Days' Ministry." A little later he was raised to the Bench as Third Judge of the Province. When the position of Second Judge, held by Mr. Justice Boothby, was vacant Judge Gwynne was appointed to it. In 1881 he retired on a pension of £1,300 per annum. It has been said of him by a contemporary that "a more upright Judge had not been seen on this side of the line." He took a great interest in military matters and in the gardening industry. Judge Gwynne died on June 10th, 1888, aged seventy-seven years. Mount Gwynne in the northern part of South Australia, is named after him.

Captain John Hart, C.M.G.—As early as 1834, before the colonization of South Australia, when it was as yet a *terra incognita*, this old and splendid pioneer was employed in sealing operations along the southern coast of Australia. In this way he became acquainted with the Gulf of St. Vincent and the coast on which a new colony in course of time would be founded. In 1836 he was dispatched to London by a Tasmanian merchant. Here he was often consulted by the South Australian Colonization Commissioners, to whom he was able to give useful information. After Captain Hart returned to Australia he traded between the colonies. The disasters which overtook South Australia in Governor Gawler's time ruined many of the pioneer merchants. John Hart had settled down to a mercantile life. He had to leave his home and business and once more go to sea. Returning to commercial pursuits he became one of the leading merchants in the New Settlement. He built large flourmills at Port Adelaide in 1854. In Governor Robe's time he took part in the agitation against the imposition of royalties. In the new Council created in 1851 he was elected for the District of Victoria. It was Captain Hart who led the party in that Council which was opposed to State-aid to religion, moving a resolution that shelved the Bill. He was a member of the Council formed in 1855 to frame a new Constitution. In the First Parliament in 1857 he was elected for Port Adelaide. Captain Hart sat in nine Ministries. The first office he held was that of Treasurer in the Hon. John Baker's Ministry in 1857; on three occasions he was Premier of the colony, and was connected with politics to the end of his life. He was made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and of St.

George. At the time of his decease it was said that there was no man in the House of Assembly who could fill the gap occasioned by his death. Few men had been so intimately associated with the many valuable reforms in the interests of the Commonwealth. He died suddenly on January 28th, 1873, at an advanced age.

Edward Stirling was one of the makers of the Constitution, being nominated to a position in the Legislative Council in 1855. He was also chosen as a member of the First Parliament in 1857. He died in London on February 2nd, 1873. Professor Stirling, F.R.S., C.M.G., and Sir John Lancelot Stirling, Kt. (President of the Legislative Council) are sons of the late Edward Stirling. Stirling Creek, in the Far North, and East and West Stirling, in the Hills, bear his name. He was one of the partners in the famous firm now known as Elder, Smith, & Co., Limited.

William Younghusband represented the District of Stanley in the two most important Legislative Councils in the early days, one dealing with the Government grant to religious bodies and the other laying down the basis for responsible government. William Younghusband took a prominent position in the early councils of the young nation. For a time he was Chief Secretary of the Province. He took a great interest in the development of the Murray trade. He died and was buried at Rome about May, 1863. Lake Younghusband and Mount Younghusband, in the Far North, bear his name.

John Bentham Neales.—An old and useful politician. He arrived in 1838 and was the leading auctioneer of the juvenile colony. He took a prominent part in sending out the exploring party under Mr. Darke in 1844 and in developing the mineral resources of the colony. He was traditionally known as the "Father of Mining in South Australia." John B. Neales first took part in the political life of the colony in 1846, when he delivered an address protesting against the importation of the juvenile offenders known as the Parkhurst Boys. In 1849 he advocated a railway to the Port and lifted up his voice against transportation to the colonies. He represented the District of North Adelaide in the Legislative Council in 1851 and 1855, using his influence in the interests of religious freedom and helping to formulate the Bill for responsible government. He was elected to the First Parliament in 1857, representing the City of Adelaide. In 1866 he was Commissioner of Crown Lands, and was connected with politics to the time of his death. As a speaker he was fluent and always entertaining, full of humour and

anecdote. Died at Glenelg on July 31st, 1873, aged sixty-seven years. The Hundred of Neales and Neale's River perpetuate his memory.

JOHN T. BAGOT sat in the Council in 1853 and was re-elected in 1855. On both occasions he represented the District of Light. He helped to make the new Constitution, and sat in the second Ministry under responsible government, having been re-elected for the District of Light in 1857. For several years he was a useful politician. He died on August 6th, 1870, aged sixty-one years.

WILLIAM PEACOCK.—A most worthy pioneer. He came from the Old Land in 1838 and took a deep interest in the religious life of the young colony. Was a strong advocate of the voluntary system. He sat in the Legislative Council in 1851 and 1855, each time representing the District of Noarlunga. In 1861 he was elected again to a seat in the Legislative Council. William Peacock did good work in helping to build up the social, political, and religious fabric. Died on January 20th, 1874, aged eighty-four years.

HON. JOHN BAKER.—A prominent figure in the social and political life of the colony for many years. He arrived in 1838. His first recorded act of a public nature was the signing of an address and forming one of a deputation to present it to George Milner Stephen, who acted as administrator of the Government until the arrival of Colonel Gawler. He delivered his first public address in a store in Flinders Street, Adelaide, on Saturday, December 13th, 1845. It was in opposition to the Royalties Bill. John Baker interested himself in obtaining a Botanic Garden for the young community, and with George Stevenson and "Gardener" Bailey selected the site. He was a member of the early Legislative Councils that dealt with the question of State-aid to religion, and formed a Constitution for the colony. In the debates connected with these momentous subjects he took a very prominent part. On each occasion he represented the District of Mount Barker. John Baker was a strong supporter of the principle of State-aid to religion. When the First Parliament was formed in 1857 he was elected to a seat in the Legislative Council. Shortly after he formed the second Ministry under responsible government known as the Baker or "The Ten Days' Ministry." To the close of his life the Hon. John Baker was associated with politics. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of England and of the British Association and Ethnological Society. He possessed a good command of language, facility of expression, and a forcible style of delivery. The Hon. John Baker was

the leader of the Conservative Party in the First Parliament. The Hon. B. T. Finniss says of him: "He was a man of splendid abilities and of sufficient practical power to lead the debates in the Legislature, as he undoubtedly always did." His death was represented as a national loss. He died at Morialta, May 18th, 1872, aged fifty-nine years.

Hon. Thomas Reynolds.—A grand pioneer, who met with a tragic end. He came from the Old Land to the New Settlement in 1840. It was the High Church austerity of Governor Robe—his disdainful reply to the deputation that waited upon him in relation to the State-aid to Religion Bill—that led Thomas Reynolds to plunge into political life. He thought it was high time for "earnest men to bestir themselves," which he very soon did. When Charles Simeon Hare retired from the representation of West Torrens in the Mixed Council of 1851 Thomas Reynolds was elected to his place. In 1855, when a new Council had to be formed to create a Constitution, Thomas Reynolds again sought the suffrages of West Torrens, and was elected, defeating Major O'Halloran. In the First Parliament he was elected for the District of Sturt. A little later he was Commissioner of Public Works. In 1860 he formed a Ministry and brought in "a bold and progressive policy." The Hon. Thomas Reynolds held office in several Ministries. About the year 1873 the condition of the Northern Territory caused anxiety. In its interests this pioneer visited Ceylon and other places to study the coolie question, and to endeavour to get capitalists to develop the resources of the Territory. He visited the Territory and found things generally in a bad state, and spent some time in putting them in order. When no longer a Minister of the Crown he decided to settle in the Territory and to aid in the development of its resources. The result was disappointment and disaster. The Hon. Thomas Reynolds and his wife, with other prominent colonists, started for home in the *Gothenburg*. She struck on the Barrier Reef on the evening of Wednesday, February 24th, 1875. A storm was raging. The night was an awful one—lightning, thunder, and blinding rains. There were nearly a hundred passengers on board beside the crew, and about 3,000 oz. gold. All on board perished with the exception of twenty-two. Among those who went down were Judge Wearing, Lionel J. Pelham (Judge's Associate), Joseph J. Whitby (Acting Crown Solicitor), and the Hon. Thomas Reynolds and his wife. He was a man of splendid ability and a leading worker in the temperance cause. In the young colony his energy, his readiness in debate, and his progressive views gave him great influence. In Parliament it

is said "he ranked with the leading members of the House, and few, if any, were held in more respect. His cast of mind caused him, as a rule, to be in sympathy with current opinion. The consistency and boldness with which he maintained his opinions, and the fact that his political integrity was beyond dispute, contributed largely to his popularity. He was an able, ready, and forcible speaker; brilliant as a financier. His combative disposition and his talent for cutting sarcasm sometimes led him to extremes." He was drowned in his fifty-seventh year. Reynolds Range, in the Far North, is named after him.

Sir Arthur Blyth.—The Province of South Australia had been in existence only some three or four years when Arthur Blyth, as a lad, first put foot on our shores. He was born in Birmingham in March, 1823. Shortly after the founding of the Province his parents decided to emigrate, and Arthur came out with them. In course of time he entered into business as an ironmonger. He was connected with the Mitcham District Council for some years, and was a member of the Central Road Board. He also took an interest in mining and banking enterprises. In 1855 he was elected to the Legislative Council for the District of Yatala. In 1857 he was chosen to represent the District of Gumeracha in the First Parliament under responsible government. He sat in the fourth Ministry (Hanson's) as Commissioner of Public Works. He held office in ten Ministries and was the leader of three. When Francis Stacker Dutton died in 1877 the Hon. Arthur Blyth succeeded him as Agent-General, a position for which he was eminently qualified. In 1878 he was knighted by the Queen. Sir Arthur died in London on December 7th, 1891.

The First Parliament.

Many of the nation-builders already mentioned sat in this Parliament. It was the inauguration of responsible government. I now deal with some prominent pioneers who had no seats in the previous Legislative Councils of the nation, but who set sail upon the stormy sea of politics in 1857.

Walter Duffield arrived about 1842. A most useful colonist. Was elected in 1857 to represent the District of Barossa in the House of Assembly. He sat for several years in both Houses of Legislature. In 1865-6 he was Treasurer of the colony. Prominent in the mercantile life of the community. Died on November 4th, 1882.

Dr. Charles George Everard arrived by the *Africaine* in 1836. Was present when the proclamation was read at

Holdfast Bay. Sat in the first Legislative Council under the new Constitution. Died on March 30th, 1876, aged eighty-two years. Father of the better known William Everard, who as a youth came out in the *Africaine*, and in after-years took a prominent part in the social and political life of the colony. Dr. Everard suffered the privations common to the early settlers. Encamped in a hut on the shores of Holdfast Bay one night he had a romantic experience. The rain descended and the floods came. The hut was surrounded by water, and the doctor, with wife and family, had to spend the night on a table. However, the doctor could make the best of everything. A visitor to his hut, referring to the swarms of mosquitoes and the croaking of innumerable frogs, received the following reply, "Oh, these are the beauties of emigration." Dr. Everard took a great interest in agriculture. He introduced the pomegranate into South Australia in 1836. He is also said to have brought the mulberry to the colony. He introduced olives from seeds obtained at the Cape.

Henry Mildred came to the Province in 1837 and took a prominent position in political and municipal life. "Councillor Mildred" was opposed to Governor Grey's policy, and did not hesitate in a most emphatic manner to say so. In 1857 he was returned for the District of Noarlunga. At different times during his long life he occupied seats in the Legislative Council or House of Assembly. About 1871 he retired from political life. He passed away at the age of eighty-two years.

Sir William Milne was born near Glasgow in May, 1822, and came to the New Settlement in 1839. He first went into the North on a station to get experience in sheep-farming, but subsequently became a merchant in the city. In 1857 he was elected to the first House of Assembly as the representative of Onkaparinga, and in 1869 was elected a member of the Legislative Council. Sir William served in several Ministries and introduced some valuable legislation. He was chosen to succeed Sir John Morphett as President of the Legislative Council. He died on April 23rd, 1895, aged seventy-two years.

Alexander Hay was born in Fifeshire, Scotland, in 1820, and came to South Australia in 1839. Was engaged principally in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Was chosen in 1857 to represent the District of Gumeracha. He sat in both Houses for some years and was Commissioner of Public Works in 1860. He assisted in passing the Real Property Act, advocated the selling of waste lands on credit as well as for cash,

brought in a Bill to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and for the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line. Alexander Hay took a great interest in commercial, religious, and philanthropic enterprises. At one time he was President of the Young Men's Christian Association. He died on February 4th, 1898, aged seventy-eight years. Mount Hay, in the northern interior, is so called after him.

Sir Henry Ayers.—This pioneer will long be remembered for valuable services rendered to the community. For a great many years he occupied a unique position in the colony. Henry Ayers was born at Portsea, England, in May, 1821. He came to South Australia in 1840. When the Burra Mine was discovered he became Secretary to the South Australian Mining Association, a position he occupied through a long life. In 1857 he was elected a member of the Legislative Council, and was seven times Premier of South Australia and sat in several Ministries. For twelve years he was President of the Legislative Council. In 1894 he was knighted by the Queen. Sir Henry was considered one of the safest and acutest financiers in South Australia. For many years he was Chairman of the Savings Bank. He was the representative from South Australia to several intercolonial Conferences. Of him the South Australian *Register* has said: "Sir Henry was peculiarly fitted to represent the people in the Senate hall and in the Cabinet office. As an administrator he showed his ready grasp of detail." His "culture and diplomatic training" served him admirably in the discharge of the work connected with the "occupancy of the highest positions in the State." No one "presided over the deliberations of the Legislative Council with a higher conception of the requirements of the office. His rule was characterized by ability, gravity, impartiality, and courtesy. His demeanour at the most trying times was always worthy of the best traditions of his high position. He was in every way an able exponent of the Constitution, with whose history he was in the fullest sense familiar. . . . If Sir Henry had done nothing else besides directing the business of the People's Savings Bank he would have earned an unquestionable title to the enduring and grateful recollections of tens of thousands of thrifty families in South Australia." When a great financial disaster overtook the colony in 1893, and one Bank after another suspended payment, it was fortunate that Sir Henry Ayers was at the head of the Savings Bank. He died on June 11th, 1897, in his seventy-seventh year.

Benjamin Herschel Babbage was the son of the celebrated inventor of the calculating machine that made the

name of Babbage universal. When the Bullion Act to which reference has been made was passed Benjamin H. Babbage was appointed Government Assayer. In the First Parliament under responsible government he was elected for the District of Encounter Bay. In 1856 he was Government Geologist, and led a party into the interior as far as Mount Hopeless in search of gold. In the chapter on "The Mysterious Interior and Attempts to Penetrate It" there is an account of his explorations. He died at his residence, St. Mary's, South Road, on October 22nd, 1878.

FRIEDRICH E. H. W. KRICHAUFF.—In the course of our history we have spoken of the thousands of German settlers who came to the Province of South Australia. Splendid colonists, as a rule, they have made—frugal, honest, independent, and industrious. The subject of this sketch was born in 1824 in the town of Schleswig. He was the son of a judge in the Supreme Court in Schelswig Holstein, and passed through all the classes of the college there, and then apprenticed himself for three years at the Botanical Gardens at the University of Kiel. Matriculated in 1846 as a student of philosophy at the University of Berlin. Friedrich Krichauff emigrated from the Fatherland and came to South Australia about twelve years after its foundation. Purchased land in Bugle Ranges. Here he worked as an agriculturist for many years. In 1857 he was elected at the top of the poll as a representative for Mount Barker in the First Parliament. He did good service in assisting to pass the Real Property Act at a critical time. Friedrich Krichauff was a warm supporter of the principle of payment of members. Not being able to spare so much time from his agricultural pursuits, he had to resign his seat. As an evidence of the self-sacrifice that our fathers had to make in the interests of the Commonwealth we may note that this legislator walked to Adelaide on the Monday (a distance of about 28 miles) to attend the sessions of the House, and walked home again on the Friday. Robert R. Torrens urged Mr. Krichauff to become one of the first licensed brokers under the Real Property Act, chiefly to enable the German settlers to bring their land under the Act. To this he consented. In 1870 he was elected for the District of Onkaparinga, and held office as Commissioner of Public Works, having the honour of placing the last stone on the Post Office tower. For twelve years this old colonist represented Onkaparinga, and then resigned his seat to travel through Europe. As a legislator his aim was to support liberal land legislation and to encourage the planting of forest trees. In 1875 he carried a Bill to make provision for



Sir Henry Ayers.

the appointment of a Forest Board. In 1884 Friedrich Krichauff was returned for the District of Victoria, and in 1887 still had the confidence of the electors for another term of three years. He was a member of the State Bank Royal Commission, and was also elected permanent Chairman of a most useful institution—the Central Agricultural Bureau. Mr. Krichauff died on September 29th, 1904.

Hon. Lavington Glyde.—He was born in Exeter, England, emigrating to South Australia in 1850. In the First Parliament he took the place of George Marsden Waterhouse, representing East Torrens. In the second Parliament he represented Yatala. He was in every Parliament from the first to the tenth inclusive. He was a distinguished member of several Ministries. Mr. Glyde was closely associated with educational movements, and in particular with the South Australian Institute and the organizations connected with it, and for many years was a Governor of the Institute.

Hon. Charles Bonney was the first Commissioner of Crown Lands under responsible government, being nominated to the position by Governor Sir Richard MacDonnell. Mr. Bonney was one of the pioneers who rendered useful service in the founding of South Australia, and passed through some stirring experiences. He was born in 1813 near Stafford, in England, his father being a Church of England clergyman. Young Bonney left the Old Land to seek adventure in *Terra Australis*—and found it. He was with Joseph Hawdon in the first overland journey. Speaking of that trip some years after Charles Bonney said:—"Adelaide was then a collection of rude huts, with a few more substantial buildings in course of erection. The people were surprised and delighted at the arrival of a herd of cattle overland. Up to this time they had been living almost exclusively upon kangaroo flesh." Mr. Bonney returned to New South Wales and undertook to lead a second expedition for Mr. Hawdon from New South Wales to South Australia. The party started in February, 1839, with 300 cattle, several horses, and two bullock-drays. In addition to the leader there were nine Europeans and two aborigines. This party came out at Lacepede Bay, many miles to the south of the new South Australian settlement. They opened up a lot of new country and named Lake Hawdon, Mount Muirhead, and Mount Benson, in the south-eastern portion of South Australia. Water at times being scarce and the weather terribly hot, the trip was exhausting. On one occasion the party had to kill a calf and drink its blood to assuage their thirst. Mr. Bonney rose to positions of distinction in South Australia, and finally received a pension from

the Government. He then removed to New South Wales. He died on March 15th, 1897, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Lake Bonney bears his name.

Hon. G. C. Hawker.—Born in London on September 21st, 1818. Son of Admiral Edward Hawker. Took his degree of M.A. at Cambridge. Came to Adelaide in 1840 and engaged in pastoral pursuits. Passed through some exciting experiences in connection with the blacks in the early days. Mr. Hawker was a prominent member of the Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and sat in the First Parliament for the District of Victoria, succeeding Mr. Robert Leake. He was also re-elected to the second Parliament in 1860 for the same constituency. When the Parliament met on April 27th, 1860, he was chosen Speaker of the House. At the time of his death he was Father of the House. He died at Medindie on May 21st, 1895. Concerning him the public Press said: "As a history-maker, a nation-builder, and a man of strong and amiable character and unimpeachable integrity Mr. Hawker merits a distinguished place in the records of South Australia." Hawker Springs, in the Far North, and the town of Hawker bear his name.

Hon. John Dunn.—His life is a lesson in the virtues of patience and perseverance. From a very lowly position he, by virtue of hard work, rose to one of honour and affluence. John Dunn was born in Devonshire in February, 1802. His parents were poor. Consequently he received very little education. When ten years of age he had to go to work, receiving the miserable pittance of 6d. per week. After seven years' apprenticeship John Dunn became manager of a flourmill at Bideford, Devon. His wages were now 15s. per week. About four years after the founding of South Australia the subject of this sketch decided to emigrate to the new colony. He arrived in 1840 and took up land at Hay Valley. His was a heroic and determined spirit. He walked from Hay Valley to the primitive settlement on the banks of the Torrens, carrying his dairy produce. Having sold this and made his purchases he would take up his burden and walk many weary miles home again. Gradually his position improved. He erected a flourmill at Hay Valley, worked by the wind. This process was too slow and uncertain. He ordered a small steam-engine from England, and this laid the foundation of his fortune. Before prosperity came he had to endure many hardships. John Dunn could not observe any eight-hour system; he worked from daylight to dark, and after dark

continued his labours, aided by the light of a lump of grease stuck in a bit of wood. He was the first to grind corn in the New Settlement by a systematic and scientific process, and built up perhaps the largest milling business in the Southern Hemisphere. John Dunn and Friedrich Krichauff were elected to represent the District of Mount Barker in the First Parliament in 1857. They both walked to the city (a distance of many miles) to attend the sittings of the House and walked back again. For several years the Hon. John Dunn had a seat in Parliament. He helped to pass the Torrens Real Property Act, and worked hard to get the Bible read in State schools. Speaking of him the South Australian *Register* said: "How well the old patriarch served his generation the annals of the colony abundantly testify." In the truest sense of the word his was an "exemplary career." Boys and girls might learn valuable lessons from the life of the Hon. John Dunn. He "feared God," and both in a material and spiritual sense "worked righteousness"; the diligent hand made him rich, and the wealth secured was used for noble purposes. He built a number of cottages at Mount Barker for the poor and erected a Methodist Church in the town at a cost of £4,000. In various other ways he benefited the people among whom he lived and laboured. He died on October 13th, 1894, in his ninety-third year.

THREE PIONEER BROTHERS.



JOHN STEPHENS.

CHAPTER XXV.

THREE PIONEER BROTHERS.

There were three brothers, representing different phases of social life, who did exceptional work in the settlement of South Australia. They were all men of mark and helped to lay, broad and deep, the foundations upon which South Australian society rests to-day. Two of them were fierce antagonists to State-aid to religion, and led the van in the most important and severe conflict in which the pioneers had to take sides. One was a caustic and robust writer, the other an eloquent and vigorous speaker.

John Stephens was a Methodist minister in the Old Land, one of the ablest men who had sat in the chair of the British Conference. In his youth he was a Cornish miner, but he had mental powers of a superior order, and was destined by Providence to occupy an important position in the ecclesiastical world and to do a good work. When little more than twenty years of age he entered the ministry and occupied the highest positions that the Church could give. His instincts were conservative. History affirms that he was "one of the most unbending champions of authority that the Conference could produce." He had five able sons, and, strange to relate, three of them at least developed, along certain lines, radical tendencies.

Joseph Raynor Stephens became a political agitator in the Old Land and gave the British Government a considerable amount of trouble. He had remarkable gifts as a speaker, and a voice of such compass that 20,000 people could hear him in the open-air. Joseph Raynor Stephens could and did sway multitudes, as the ripe corn bends before the breeze. Speaking of him the London *Times* said that he had the gift of oratory to a dangerous degree. The British Government kept a regiment of soldiers in the district where his influence was especially felt, and he was shadowed by the police. The reader must not imagine that this was in any way a reflection upon his character. He was a man of unimpeachable character. His fault was that in denouncing some of the social and political abuses of the time he went to extremes. On one occasion when the masses were not able to make their influence sufficiently felt by righteous means he advised them "to arm." For this he was

arrested by the British Government and put on trial before a judge and special jury. He was bound over to keep the peace for five years and condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment in Chester Castle. His speech in self-defence occupied five and a half hours in delivery and made a deep impression upon the judge. In summing-up the case he said Mr. Stephens had defended his case with eloquence that he had rarely heard equalled, and complimented him upon his talents. Joseph Raynor Stephens was the "Tribune of the Poor." He pleaded with self-consuming zeal and matchless eloquence for the abolition of child labour in the factories of England and for a ten-hour day for the factory operatives. He was also an uncompromising opponent of the new Poor Law Bill that gathered the poor into workhouses instead of allowing them to live, supported by the taxes, in their own homes.

It is with the three brothers of this social reformer that I have especially to deal. Samuel, Edward, and John Stephens came to South Australia in the early days and did memorable service in laying its foundations and in raising the superstructure.

Samuel Stephens was the first adult colonist to put foot on South Australian soil. He came by the first vessel (the *Duke of York*) on July 27th, 1836, and landed at Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island. He was sent out by the South Australian Company as its first manager to give the colony a start, and was the leading spirit at the Kangaroo Island settlement. After Colonel Light had pronounced against Kangaroo Island as a place of settlement Samuel Stephens and other settlers removed to the mainland. He imported the first horse into the new colony. One of the pioneers (Pastor Jacob Abbott) has left upon record an account of his first meeting with the horse and its owner. Samuel Stephens was walking down the North Terrace of the embryo city, leading his newly imported horse. A short distance away was a group of blackfellows. Directly they caught sight of the animal "their expressions of astonishment and horror were indescribable." The men shouted: the lubras screamed. The children sought refuge behind their parents. Gradually they became calmer, muttering "Big kangaroo! Oh, big kangaroo!" Like his brothers who will come under review he was evidently a man with considerable force of character. He had great difficulty with some of the emigrants brought out in the Company's service, but soon succeeded in erecting several stores and buildings. He also did useful work in exploring the country round

Adelaide and along the west coast. Alas! the noble-spirited Samuel Stephens soon came to an untimely end. In 1840 he was on his way from the Murray, a party of pioneers being with him. He rode on in advance. When the company came to the foot of one of the hills between Mount Barker and Adelaide they found him on the road speechless. His horse had fallen with him. He died about half an hour after his friends picked him up. He was buried in the West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. Of him one of the pioneers left the following record:—"He was endeared by the benevolence of his disposition and kindness of heart, as he was admired for his clear perception and sound judgment. No case of real distress or difficulty appealed to him in vain, and his sympathy was always rendered doubly valuable by the sincerity with which it was exercised. He delighted in benefiting all that he could, and if he ever thought of heaping fire on the head of an opponent it was sure to be by rendering him a kindness."

Samuel Stephens is buried in a block of land in the West Terrace Cemetery secured by his brother Edward. The forces of Nature are destroying the lettering on the tombstone. Before the inscription totally disappears I would like to transfer it to these pages. Some of the words are already lost:—

"In a vault beneath this stone is deposited the body of the late Samuel Stephens, Esq., who departed this life on Saturday, January 18th, 1840, aged 31 years. Amongst the early friends and founders of South Australia his name holds a distinguished place. He was the first colonist who landed on its shores, holding at the time the appointment of First Colonial Manager of the South Australian Company. He was suddenly killed in the prime of life by an accident whilst returning . . . to Adelaide." (49)

The time will come—if it has not already arrived—when the descendants of the pioneers will go to see the grave of the first adult colonist to put foot on South Australian soil. The following are the directions for finding it:—Road No. 1 south. Path 30 west and Path 31 east. Nos. 44-45. Situated between first and second road.

JOHN STEPHENS was born in Newcastle, England, on September 30, 1806, his father being stationed as a Methodist preacher in that city. About 1832 a paper was published in England with pronounced radical tendencies. It was conducted by four able young men, sons of distinguished ministers. All had the literary gift and were writers to the

(49) John Stephens is buried in the same vault.

annuals. The paper took the name of *The Christian Advocate*. A contemporary says: "The paper was conducted with ability, its articles were exceedingly plausible, and in the absence of any counteracting agency few were able to detect its fallacies." It became the exponent of ecclesiastical and political radicalism. It attacked the leading ministers of the Methodist Connexion, being especially severe on Dr. Bunting. It also "dealt with other religious bodies after its own mind," and had great influence. It was read by thousands. "People looked for *The Christian Advocate* with an eager spirit, and there was something wanting at the end of the week if its pages were not read." The editor of that paper was John Stephens, so named after his able father. The paper lived for some years. Then both paper and editor disappeared from view. It was in connection with the founding of South Australia that John Stephens, somewhat abruptly, came to the surface again. That he was known to George Fife Angas is evident from a passage in Mr. Angas' published life. He says: "I went over to Blackfriars to see John Stephens." We next meet with him in connection with the publication of a book entitled "The Land of Promise." It was written in the interests of the new colony of South Australia and published in 1836. A second edition was soon called for, and published under the title of "The Rise and Progress of South Australia."

In 1843 John Stephens was in Adelaide interesting himself in journalistic work. In pioneer times there were a number of papers. There was *The South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* (the paper *par excellence*), the first number of which was published before the colony was proclaimed. It was of a very outspoken character. In the squabbles which took place in Governor Hindmarsh's time *The Register* supported the Governor's party. James Hurtle Fisher and Charles Mann took umbrage at the action of the editor of our pioneer paper. In the judgment of their party *The Register* had eminently failed, and so a rival *(The South Australian)* was called into existence. This was edited by Charles Mann, the Advocate-General and Crown Solicitor, father of the more famous Charles Mann, who a few years ago was an able politician, but passed away at a comparatively early age. In 1839 a paper was actually published in the interests of Port Lincoln. It was called *The Port Lincoln Herald*. At this time Port Lincoln was a most important place and promised to be a rival to Adelaide. John Bentham Neales, the pioneer auctioneer, afterwards a noted politician, was the editor of

The Port Lincoln Herald. A little later *The Adelaide Guardian* was started, edited by George Milner Stephen, who acted as Governor in the interval between the departure of Governor Hindmarsh and the arrival of Governor Gawler. It lived about six months. Several of these pioneer papers had only an ephemeral existence. That so many were established seems to be an indication of the mental calibre of the early settlers and the keen interest they took in matters affecting the social welfare. In 1841 *The Adelaide Independent and Cabinet of Amusement* (a title almost sufficient to kill any paper) set sail upon troubled waters. The editor was Mr. N. Hailes, a noted pioneer in literary circles. This paper was to "unflinchingly advocate free institutions, free creeds, free trade, free thought, free words, and free actions," so long as they were consistent with just laws and social order. Though *Independent* by name it could not do without public support, and as this was not sufficiently forthcoming it soon collapsed. Then *The Examiner* came upon the scene, which was ultimately merged into *The Adelaide Observer*, a paper which continues to this day. It was owned, edited, and published by John Stephens. In relation to John Stephens' venture an amusing skit appeared in one of the papers. It consisted of several verses under the heading "The Paragon Paper." The first line in the first verse refers to various editors in pioneer times:—

O Allen! O Murray! O Mr. Dehane!
Cut your pens, cut your papers, for now it is plain
That you'll shortly be put to the rout:
For the pith of your papers is chiefly abuse
And Johnny Drinkwater (50) will open a sluice
When the paragon paper comes out.

A paper embodying news of the week,
With literature light (such as bush people seek),
Not one word politicians about;
But peace and goodwill 'twill promote among men;
And sugar and congou will look up again
When the paragon paper comes out. (51)

After establishing *The Adelaide Observer*, *The Register* also came into John Stephens' hands. The same characteristics that were so marked in England were manifested here. He was a fighter, indeed. Of John Stephens it has been said: "He had great difficulties with his literary business, as he wielded a trenchant pen, and enemies rose up all round him, some of whom sought redress for their im-

(50) A humorous reference to John Stephens' well-known total abstinence principles.

(51) Hussey's Colonial Life and Christian Experience.

agined wrongs at the hands of the law. At the time of his death his name had appeared nine times in the cause list of the Supreme Court as defendant in libel actions." Many advertisements were withdrawn from his paper. He is represented as having "decision of character, indomitable pluck, and untiring energy in an eminent degree." He was a staunch teetotaller. In the various actions that were brought against him it was his conviction that he suffered for righteousness' sake. One who knew him well in South Australia has left on record the following: "He was the unflinching and unvarying advocate of civil and religious liberty; the truthful and uncompromising exposer of every proved corruption and abuse." What this free State to-day owes to the powerful pen of John Stephens—especially in relation to the abolition of State-aid to religion and the struggle for responsible government—is beyond calculation. He died in 1850. A contemporary says: "The victim of the severity of his own discipline and labour, but not until he had established, on a permanent basis, the reputation and success of *The Register*. Business worries and the death of a beloved son and daughter helped to break him down." His body lies in the West Terrace Cemetery, Adelaide. The stone that marks his resting-place is wasting away. Some of the letters are obliterated. The following is a copy:—

In Memory of
JOHN STEPHENS,
Who died
November 28, 1850,
Aged 44 years.

———

The memory of his worth shall never cease,
Upright in all his ways his end was peace;
But though sincere, affectionate, and just,
His Saviour's merits were his only trust.

Edward Stephens.—He was born on October 19th, 1811, in London, where his father was stationed. He came to South Australia to found the pioneer bank, bringing with him a framed banking-house and capital to the extent of £10,000.

The colony had been proclaimed only a few days before Edward Stephens' arrival, so the young banker and his wife had to take up their abode in a tent not far from the beach at Holdfast Bay. In public matters connected with the young colony Edward Stephens took a leading part. In searching old records in the Adelaide Public Library I found his name in connection with a variety of social, political,



Bank of South Australia in 1839. Edward Stephens, Manager.

religious, and philanthropic movements. He was one of the early immigrants who protested against the site that Colonel Light had chosen for the city. In the pioneer Press a long and vigorous letter of his appeared in which he affirmed that on the site chosen "a great commercial city could never be built." He was one of the Committee which named the streets and squares of Adelaide; he was also a magistrate, and for a short time a member of the Legislature. Judging from specimens of his oratory that have come down to us he must have been a very effective speaker. After David McLaren left the colony Edward Stephens became manager of the Bank of South Australia. In addition to his work as a banker he edited a weekly journal, *The Adelaide Miscellany*, but it did not pay. He lost £400 by this literary venture. During the troubles that overtook the colony in Governor Gawler's time he was of special service to the pioneers. On January 12th, 1851, he left the colony on a visit to England. In connection with his departure the editor of *The Adelaide Times* said: "No one who remembers the crisis of 1841-4 can deny to Mr. Stephens the possession of tact and talent of a very superior order, or can hesitate to admit his perfect self-possession and far-sighted forbearance on that trying occasion. Not one banker out of ten or perhaps out of a hundred could have done what he then did. There was certainly no other person in the colony equal to it. A false step then would have been fatal. The colony might have been ruined and the South Australian Banking Company entombed in its ruins. As it was, the Bank was saved, and was brought out of the crisis without any considerable loss. No one in the colony at that time can forget the Sheriff's visit to the Bank in Governor Grey's time and the ease with which he was bowled out. Mr. Stephens was the only man in the colony before whom Governor Grey quailed, who then referred the matter in dispute Home, only to meet with more signal and complete discomfiture. For this Mr. Stephens entitled himself to the best thanks of the colonists. The question at issue was the disposal of some £10,000 or £12,000 of the Emigration Fund which Captain Grey was bent upon misappropriating. No man, in fact, can do bolder things than Mr. Stephens has done, or do them with more complete success." *The Register* spoke on another occasion in similar laudatory terms.

Edward Stephens returned from England, and once again took up his position as manager of the Bank of South Australia.

After a few more years of service there came the longing to see the Old Land once more. His family ties in South Australia were broken. His brother Samuel was dead; John was dead; but in the dear Old Land over the sea some of his kindred still remained. His brother Joseph Raynor Stephens and George were yet alive; once again he would like to see them.

If the desire once more to see his kindred and the land of his fathers was strong in the heart of Mr. Stephens it must have been equally felt by the noble woman (for she was such) who had shared her husband's joys and sorrows, successes and reverses, in the founding of our State. She has told how, in the absence of her husband from the tent at Glenelg, she sometimes sat, with fear and trembling, on the chest that contained the capital of the Bank.

In the year 1855 Edward Stephens resigned his position, and with his wife went Home, leaving the Bank of South Australia a large, vigorous, and successful institution: a monument of his ability and industry.

In February, 1861, we meet with Edward Stephens in London. At this time a number of the pioneers of South Australia were in the Old Land. Among others there were Captain Bagot, Alexander L. Elder, Joseph Hawdon (who brought overland the first herd of cattle), Charles Bonney (the first Commissioner of Crown Lands), James Hurtle Fisher (the first Resident Commissioner), and Colonel George Gawler (the second Governor of South Australia).

These and several other old colonists wished to do honour to John Ridley, the inventor of the South Australian stripper, who was residing in England. The leading spirit in the movement was Edward Stephens. He arranged for a dinner at the Albion Hotel, Aldersgate Street, London, and for the presentation of a testimonial. A London writer to the Press said: "The dinner was his idea: a desire to bring old colonists together, the realization of a long-cherished wish that there should be a gathering of those who looked upon South Australia as their home or the foundation of their fortunes."

The dinner was held on February 27th, 1861. The chairmen were Captain C. H. Bagot and Alexander L. Elder. Sir Rowland Hill (the father of penny postage), who had taken a great interest in the settlement of South Australia, and Colonel George Gawler occupied positions of honour.

Describing the personnel of the company a reporter to the Press said: "Space would fail to mention all the points

of interest attaching to such an assembly." The "earliest settlers were there," men "who had endured no ordinary privations, and those who were now in affluence after years of honourable labour; those who remembered South Australia as a 'very little place' among the nations; merchants who wrote their first invoices on cask-heads; bankers who transacted their exchanges under canvas and formed their desks on sand heaps; promoters of the Burra Mine, one of whom had travelled from Frankfurt to be present."

At the banquet Edward Stephens was one of the vice-chairmen, and made "the most delightful speech" in answering the toast, "The Ladies." His speech was in praise of the wives of the early settlers of South Australia. John Ridley said it was the event of the evening. A few days after he passed away.

Writing of this gathering of old colonists in London and of the death of Edward Stephens, Mr. Ridley said: "I followed Mr. Stephens to the grave. I saw him on Friday, two days after the dinner, and he said he had taken no harm, though he had been unwell some little time before it. On the next Wednesday, when I called to enquire, his doctor was with him, and by the next Tuesday he was dead. The day of the funeral was a sad one; but it was a sacred sadness."

The reporter to the Press from whom I have already quoted, speaking of Edward Stephens, said: "Nor was his an ordinary feeling of attachment to the colony. As early as 1837 he proceeded there in the *Coromandel* to establish the Bank of South Australia, which he conducted with signal ability through all its early stages, and continued its colonial manager till 1855, when he honourably retired, leaving his favourite institution a large and profitable concern. His promise on leaving Adelaide in 1855 to continue serving South Australia has been more than fulfilled, his high qualifications for public life being pre-eminent when its interests were to be advocated or its claims asserted. In the Australian Association, at whose meetings he was a close attendant; at the International Statistical Congress, where he was among the most notable of representatives; and, if he had lived, at the Exhibition of 1862, to which he was appointed Commissioner for South Australia, the colony had the best of its public men, and none more happy, more proud of promoting its interests, in watching or recording its career, and doing what was practical and wise for its future welfare. Peace to his memory. May there never be a want of his public spirit, his enlarged talent, his practical and sagacious wisdom."

LOOKING BACKWARDS.



ADELAIDE AND THE MOUNT LOFTY RANGES, FROM THE NORTH-WEST, IN 1838.
From a Drawing by Colonel Light.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LOOKING BACKWARDS.

Before the foundation of the colony South Australia was almost a *terra incognita*. Captain Flinders had surveyed its coast; Captain Sturt and party had sailed down the Murray; Captain Barker and his men had walked over the Adelaide Plains, ascended Mount Lofty, and obtained a view of the surrounding country; for several years prior to the arrival of the first settlers some white sealers had been living on Kangaroo Island; but the real interior of South Australia was as little known as the other side of the moon. It was a well-appointed domicile awaiting a suitable tenant. It was made to be inhabited by the highest type of man, and until the purpose of its creation was realized there was something a-wanting and amiss. There was no lowing of oxen nor bleating of sheep; no ploughman's whistle nor milkmaid's song; no long, freshly-turned furrows nor fields of waving corn. The air had not vibrated with the sound of horse's hoof or the rumble of wheels. The music of the whetted scythe had not fallen upon the ear. There were no roads, bridges, fences, nor houses surrounded by flowers and fruit-bearing trees; no honey-suckle and jessamine. Save the loud, ludicrous laugh of the jackass, the howl of the dingo, or the "cooee" of the blackfellow few startling noises were heard.

The country abounded in game. Kangaroos and wallabies roamed about in flocks. Here and there families of wombats dwelt in their holes. The emu and her chicks sped over the plain. On the lakes were wild fowl, and the Murray teemed with fish. Where Adelaide now stands serpents glided and kangaroos fed.

The blackfellow held undisputed sway. His was a free-and-easy kind of life. Except the fear of sorcery and an occasional tribal fight, there was little to trouble his soul. The day was spent in eating and drinking, making weapons or canoes, netting wild fowl, hunting the kangaroo, and spearing fish. At night there was the mystic corroboree.

I have spoken of evil traits in the character of the blacks; but they had some good as well as bad qualities. The Rev. George Taplin, who spent many years among the natives in the early days, tells a story that he heard. Some

of the white savages on Kangaroo Island (the runaway sailors or escaped convicts of whom I have spoken) stole, from the mainland near Cape Jervis, three native women and took them to the Island. When the prisoners had been detained by their captors a short time they began to cast about for means to get back to their husbands, families, and tribe. At last they found a small dinghy belonging to the sealers. It would hold only two. Two of the women had no children, but the third had an infant at the breast, so the childless lubras took the dinghy and started for the mainland, reaching it in safety. The poor mother, left behind with her babe, must have pined sadly for her native habitat and tribe, but nothing was heard of her for some time. One day the natives found her body on the beach of the mainland, just above high-water mark, with the baby tied on her back. She had swum Backstairs Passage (about 9 miles in the narrowest part and infested with sharks), and then, in a state of utter exhaustion, crawled to the shore and died.[52]

In our early chapters we read the gloomy prognostications of the London *Times*. In 1834, when the Colonization Bill passed the British Parliament, the editor said: "Let the gentlemen take their fling. Two years will be sufficient to show whether the distrust we have felt it right to avow or the anger it has occasioned is more rationally founded."

We have seen the first colonist (Samuel Stephens) put foot on Australian shore. We have viewed the early immigrants' tents pitched among the trees and rushes that skirted the shores of Holdfast Bay. Beds made of rushes, pork barrels and packing-cases extemporized as tables, immigrants dragging their goods to the site of a city that was to be—all these have passed before our view.

Where those tents, seventy-four years ago, were pitched the large and aristocratic town of Glenelg now stands. A few miles inland where the serpent glided, the kangaroo fed, and the blackfellow roamed the queenly City of Adelaide rears her head. Here are to be seen some of the finest buildings and streets in the Southern Hemisphere. Here is a system of deep-drainage and of water supply that is unsurpassed. Electric-trams and motor-cars are running in all directions. Through country that seventy-five years ago was unexplored and unknown trains now rush laden with passengers, wheat, wool, sheep, cattle, and mineral wealth. Round the city there is a beautiful park; outside of the park are crowded and healthy suburbs. To walk down Monte-

[52] Another tradition affirms that she lived.

fiore Hill on a beautiful day in spring or autumn is an inspiration. In the foreground are flowers, plantations, and buildings nestling in foliage. In the background are the magnificent hills. A visitor to Adelaide in 1907, writing to *The Sydney Morning Herald*, said: "In Adelaide one has no feeling of being cramped. There is elbow room for institutions, trees, grass, everything and everybody that is good. . . . When making a special study of its gardens, parks, and street-planting that feeling of abundance of space impressed itself upon my mind more strongly than ever. Adelaide is a beautiful city, and as I entered it a gentleman in the train said to me, with a wave of his hand: 'My dear sir, the finest city on earth, and I have travelled a good deal.'"

Dotted over the country are towns, villages, farms, and gardens. It seems like a fairy tale. All has been accomplished in less than seventy-five years. Seventy-three years ago the population was 500; to-day it is more than 408,000.

In 1886 we celebrated our Jubilee. Speaking on that occasion Sir Henry Ayers (one of the pioneers) said: "Something must be said of the country we have been in possession of for fifty years. It may not unreasonably be demanded of us to state what use we have made of the talents committed to our care for the benefit of mankind. We have utilized for pastoral purposes many thousand square miles of country, on which depasture seven millions of sheep, three hundred thousand head of cattle, and one hundred and seventy thousand horses. We have brought under cultivation nearly three millions of acres. We have made it a country productive of wool, of corn, of fruit, of wine, of oil, and a land flowing with milk and honey. We have completed telegraphic communication across the Continent and thus brought Australia within speaking distance of all parts of the world. We have constructed over a thousand miles of railway and many thousand miles of macadamized roads. We have erected various buildings, and built bridges, docks, wharves, jetties, and other works required for our wants. We have made ample provision for educating the people, including the establishment and endowment of a University. We have founded hospitals and asylums for the insane, the sick, the incurable, the blind, the dumb, the deaf, and the necessitous poor. . . . But some captious critic may say all these things are for yourselves; tell us what you have done for your brethren abroad. We have fed the people of the outside world with breadstuffs to the value of some thirty-five millions sterling. We have clothed them with some forty millions' worth of wool. We have sent them nearly twenty millions sterling of minerals

and metals. Could the greatest optimist among the early settlers have predicted such results?"

As our pilgrim fathers drew near to the shores of South Australia seventy-five years ago, in summer time, it was with mingled feelings that they viewed the scene. From the deck of the vessel, as it stood out in St. Vincent's Gulf, they could see the dry-looking hills and apparently dry plains. The mind was clouded and the soul despondent. What a revelation a few decades have made!

It was in the year 1838 that our first Governor (Sir John Hindmarsh) left the colony. It had then been founded two years. I give the statistics for the year 1838 contrasted with those for 1910. This will give the reader some idea of the progress made in seventy-two years:—

	1838.	1910.
Population	6,000	408,558
Acres under cultivation ...	200	4,141,992
Horses	480	249,326
Cattle	2,500	384,862
Sheep	28,000	6,267,477
Exports	£6,442	£10,243,197
Revenue (1910-11) ...	£1,448	£4,181,472

There was a surplus in 1910 of £217,061, which was devoted to reduction of debt.

A little more than seventy years ago, when preparations were being made for the settlement of South Australia, John Stephens wrote a book upon it called "The Land of Promise." At that time the colony was trying to struggle into existence. It was a mere embryo, but there were great possibilities bound up in it. In the nature of things John Stephens could speculate only as to the future. To what a marvellous extent his speculations have been realized! It is now a "Land of Canaan" such as no Canaanite or Jew ever looked upon. It is, indeed, a land flowing with wheat, wool, and fruit, as well as with milk and honey. The following are a few items of production for the season embracing part of 1910 and 1911:—

Wheat, bushels	24,344,740
Hay, tons	464,048
Apples, cases	450,920
Honey, lb.	996,376
Wine, gallons	3,470,058
Currants, cwt.	40,261
Raisins, cwt.	34,745
Butter, lb.	10,717,486
Cheese, lb.	1,796,281

From statistics courteously supplied by the Government Statist the following items have been taken: —

Value of wheat exported in 1910	... £4,055,028
Value of wool exported in 1910	... 1,943,455
Value of fruit exported in 1910	... 55,300
Value of meat exported in 1910	... 160,021

In 1911 there was held in Adelaide the record wool sale of the world, 19,043 bales being sold, realizing £182,435.

When reading these results the reader must bear in mind that the country which produced them is but seventy-five years of age.

In our chapter on "Some Useful Legislation" we saw Captain Bromley, our first schoolmaster, gathering the children of the pioneers together for instruction. This was on Kangaroo Island under the shade of a large tree.

To-day we have a splendid system of national education, in connection with which there are: —

Schools	733
Teachers (of all grades)	1,429

During the year the Government spent money for educational purposes as follows: —

Primary Education	£167,426
Secondary Education	10,400

The total expenditure for the year 1910 for purposes of education was £221,852.

In addition to the above-mentioned schools there are several large denominational colleges and many private educational institutions.

The natives have not been forgotten. During the last seventy years several mission stations have been established. One of the most successful has been the mission at Point MacLeay. For many years it was under the able superintendence of the Rev. George Taplin, who deserves honourable mention in our history. Missionary work among the aborigines has been much retarded by the migratory habits of the blacks and by the lecherous conduct of some of the whites.

In the chapter on "The Rise of Ecclesiastical Organizations" we saw a few men and women in 1836 going to the rush hut of the principal surveyor at Holdfast Bay, carrying their seats with them. Here a service in connection with the Anglican Church was to be held, presumably in the hut of George S. Kingston. The congregation consisted of twenty-five persons. The signal for assembling was the firing of a

gun. A little later we saw a few Methodists meeting in the hut of John White, one of the pioneer preachers, on the banks of the Torrens, to form a Church. Fifteen persons gave in their names as members. Then the pioneer Congregational minister (Rev. Thomas Q. Stow) came upon the scene, holding service in a tent, with Governor Hindmarsh sitting before him on a box. Later still we witnessed a few members of the Roman Catholic Church meeting at the house of Mr. Phillips, East Terrace, to establish a mission. We listened to the debates in the pioneer Legislative Council dealing with the question of State-aid to religion. Said Robert R. Torrens (afterwards Sir Robert), member for Cambridge, in the House of Commons: "So far as religious instruction went voluntaryism was a fallacy. . . . The burden of supporting public worship fell on a few." Said another of our pioneer legislators: "He believed that the people had not the means to build churches or to maintain ministers." Ah! these were the days when the faith of some of the pioneers in relation to religious matters was weak—they could not throw off their Old World ideas. In an ecclesiastical sense what do we see after the lapse of seventy years? A perfect network of churches throughout the settled portions of South Australia, in the faraway bush and in the suburbs. In these churches hundreds of men minister without receiving one penny from the State. In an ecclesiastical as well as in a political sense "the little one has become a thousand and the small one a strong nation."

The following poem will bring the "past and the present" vividly before the mind of the reader. It is true to Nature and to experience, and is a very good specimen of Australian muse. If the reader will turn to the first chapter of this book he will see a picture "Along the Murray." It represents Moorunde, where the famous explorer Edward John Eyre was located in the early days as magistrate controlling the aborigines:—

ALONG THE MURRAY.

Broad and fair and free, old Murray,
  Rolling ever on his way,
Calling to the mist and starlight,
Singing through the shade and sunlight.
Through the years unchanged, unending
  Mirrors night and day.
Long ago the bright fires leaping
  On its reeded margin wide
Saw the poor, rude natives gather
Round the cheerful blaze together,
And their weird and mournful chanting
  Mingled with his tide.

In the past, forgotten ages,
Who can tell or know how long
Murray rolled his mighty waters,
Fed his dusky sons and daughters,
Thrilled the vast, unbroken scrubland
With his wondrous song?
Now the white man's foot has echoed
Where the swan and wildfowl rest,
Startled from its sleep the scrubland,
Scared the curlew in the grassland,
Driven out the timid emu
From its sheltered nest.

Ruthless hands have stripped the forest,
Hunted, from their lowly lair,
All its dwellers, strange and harmless,
Left the grey flats grey and charmless,
Left the plains less fair.
Ruthless feet have crushed the lilies
By the sheltered billabong.
Down the shady river reaches
With their cool and pebbled beaches
Comes the "hallo!" of the woodman
And his echoing song.

All the simple life has vanished;
All the old, strange scenes are fled:
With the morning, fresh and early,
Comes no "cooee!" from the wurley
Bringing back the dusky huntsmen
Through the sunrise red.
Only by some lonely shallow,
Shadow-haunted, ripple-stirred,
Still may be the waning traces,
Mouldering hut, or grass-grown places,
Records of a hunted people
Graven without a word.

On old Murray shower and sunshine,
Mist and shadows cross and sway,
All the old, strange life has vanished,
Only he by time untarnished,
Through the years unchanged, unending,
Mirrors night and day.

—*Lillian Miller.*

The future of South Australia is beyond our ken. For better or worse, for richer or poorer, she has become part of a great Commonwealth. Our destiny is now more especially bound up with that of the other Australian States. We are a united people. Our position among the nations of the earth will be decided not so much by our natural resources as by the position we take up in relation to the Power in the universe that makes for righteousness. Said Governor Hindmarsh when leaving the colony: "If the colonists do them-

selves justice, if they respect the laws and attend to the ordinances of religion, if they continue the habits of temperance and industry which have so happily prevailed, South Australia must realize the most ardent wishes of its friends, and acquire in a few years a rank among the provinces of the British Empire without example in colonial history." Not only did our first Governor lay the political foundation-stone of the Province, but, in the wise words just quoted, he laid down the principles on which all national greatness is based. Said our late beloved Queen Victoria to Lord Tennyson, then Governor of South Australia: "If only my people will love God, all will be well."

"The Charter's read; the rites are o'er,
The trumpet's blare and cannon's roar
Are silent, and the flags are furled;
But so not ends the task to build
Into the fabric of the world
The substance of our hopes fulfilled—
To work as those who greatly have divined
The lordship of a continent assigned
As God's own gift for service to mankind."

—*J. Brunton Stephens* (from the Federation Ode)



Adelaide To-day. King William Street (looking South).

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